Bibliotheca Recondita:

Edsy OR, Blace

## A COLLECTION

OF CURIOUS

## PRIVATE PIECES;

Some of which

Great Endeavours have been used

TO CONCEAL from

# PUBLIC VIEW.

Regularly methodized in All

FACULTIES, ARTS, and SCIENCES.

By JOHN CHAMBERS, Efq;
Of the CITY of HEREFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Books have their Fate, to no One Taste confin'd; 'Tis their Variety improves the Mind.

### LONDON:

Printed (by the Direction of a Society, for the Encouragement of Learning) and fold only by E. Curl, at Pope's Head, in Rose-street, Covent-Garden. MDCCXXXIX. Price 125.

A COLLIDITY A

PRIVATE LIE, OES;

Some of which

Great Endenrosta Larg Estantidal To Contexat fon

# PUBLICIEW.

ice II. erter ware gerrau I

PARUSTES, Antemate Sciences,

By your Current BERREST ENDINE

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BOL STATE OF STATE OF

LOVDON.

Min with respect to the matter of a Section of the city of the cit

(I) Le Clerel Jean !



To the Right Honourable

# D A N I E L. Earl of Nottingham.

MY LORD,



Dean PRIDEAUX has publickly acknowledged, \* "That he owed all his

Loudon, Islaren 3.

" Promotions in the Church to

<sup>\*</sup> In his Dedication.

" your Noble Family, and therefore "thought it his Duty to land the thought it his Duty to lay the " Product of his Studies at your " Lordship's Feet;" it is hoped the following EXAMINATION of his valuable Work (of The Old and New Testament Connected) by a Learned Foreigner, will, for the Regard you have shewn to the Author Himself, be equally acceptable.

To your Lordship therefore this Translation is most humbly sub-

mitted, by

Philalethes.

London, March 3. 1721-2.





#### A

# Critical Examination

ÓF

Dean Prideaux's Connection, & c.



onsieur Le Clerc, in his last Bibliotheque \*; just now imported from abroad, after acquainting us that Dean Prideaux's Connection of the Old and News

Testament is already published in French at Amsterdam, and in Dutch at Leyden; thus begins his own Remarks.

<sup>\*</sup> Bibliothèque Ancienne & Moderne, Tom XVI; pour l'Année 1721, partie seconde, pag 366; B 2 THIS

THIS Work (of the Connection, &c.) is indeed useful to all Degrees and Conditions of Men, who would know the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations, from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the

Time of Christ.

The State and Fortune of the Fews after their Return from the Babylonish-Captivity, down to the Time of the Maccabees, is very little known, for want of fuch Antient Historians as might give us a proper Light in this Affair. We see in this Work, with the greatest Pleasure imaginable, the Pagan History connected with the Fewish, from the Reign of Abaz, the Father of Hezekiah, as far as it was possible to be done from the Fragments of Oriental History treating of those Countries. But in the Times which follow, this Connection has been much more easy, as well as certain; as we may remark it from the Period of the Reign of Cyrus. The Dean has likewise very often reconciled the Chronology of Pagan-Authors, with that of the Scripture, which ferves as a Confirmation of the Truth of the Sacred History. We may find herein besides, the Prophetick-Chronology, if I may so express my self; that is to fay, not only the Time at which

every Prophet from the Reign of Abaz King of Judah so prophesied, but likewife that of the Accomplishment of their Prophecies concerning the Fews and Neighbouring Nations. In putting together these Prophecies, as well as in his Relation of the Sacred and Profane Hiftory, Dr. Prideaux explains many Pasfages which deferve our utmost Attention. He has likewise taken occasion to throw in many important Digressions upon Transactions which have regard to the Holy Scripture, or to the Antiquities of

the Hebrews.

The celebrated Dr. Fames Usher, Archbishop of Armagh in the Kingdom of Ireland, was the first Guide we had in these late dark Ages, by ranging the History of the Kingdoms of Syria, Allyria, Media, Babylon, and Persia; and connecting them to the History of the Hebrews. Our Author indeed acknowledges. that he is much beholden to this great Man, tho he has fometimes taken the liberty to depart from his Sentiments. Sir John Marsham (in his Canon Chronicus Agyptiacus, &c.) has also very much contributed to our understanding the Order of these Histories, and has with great Care and Fidelity amassed together and cleared up all their Fragments. But the Dean has reduced all this to a Method fo elegant

elegant and unperplexed, that it renders the Perusal of his Work agreeable to every Reader. He could not better have employed his Time, in a venerable old Age, and under the "calamitous Afflic-" tion of a Distemper, which drove him " out of the Pulpit, and wholly disabled " him from the Duty of his Profession," as he observes in his Preface; wherein many curious Particulars in Chronology, and the Computation of the Fewish-Year

and Coins, are judiciously inserted.

I shall now proceed to make some Obfervations in the Course of this Work. Upon the Year 574, before the Birth of Christ, the Dean recounts the Accomplishment of the Judgments which befell Pharaoh Hophra, King of Ægypt \*, (or Apries, as he is called by Herodotus) And which God had denounced by the " Mouth of his Prophets, (Ezekiel xxix. 17, (c.) This is immediately followed by the History of the Siege of old Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, who after Thirteen Years made himself Master of it. Several Remarks will be here found upon this City, and the Chronology of its Kings reconciled to That of the Holy Scripture. Were all the antient Historians now extant, who wrote Accounts of that City

<sup>\*</sup> See Connection, Part I. 8vo Edit. p. 90. Book I.

and of Babylon, we should doubtless find a great many Passages which would clear up others in Scripture, not to be understood at this Day; because the sew Fragments we have remaining of those Historians, are not sufficient for this purpose. These Fragments have been formerly collected and published by Joseph Scaliger, with his own Notes, at the end of his learned Work, De Emendatione Temporum; but have since his Time, by Archbishop Usher and Sir John Marsham, been better illustrated.

Under the Year 570, we are entertained with a Description of Babylon, of the Temple of Belus, and of the other famous Works undertaken and compleated by Nebuchadnezzar, who first adorned that City "with a Magnificence and "Expence wherein he exceeded what-"soever had been done by any King before him \*." The History of this Prince is a great Help towards the understanding of the Prophets; but that of Cyrus, which follows it, under the Year 559 before Jesus Christ, is still a greater Help.

Under the Year 536 and the following Years, there are abundance of Remarks concerning the Return of the Fews from

<sup>\*</sup> See Connection, p. 95. Book II.

the Babylonish Captivity, and upon their Re-establishment at Ferusalem; upon the Second Temple and all its Parts, and its Magnificence beyond the former \*; upon the Sanctuary, and every thing that was therein. Those who have prosecuted Studies of this kind, perhaps may not find here a great deal to improve their Knowledge; but as there are but few Readers of that fort, the Generality will be very well pleased to find herein, what they knew but imperfectly before, explained at large with the utmost Exactness and Elegance; and even the most knowing will find fomething to incite them to consider these Matters with more Care, because our Author never fails of faying fomewhat fingular upon every thing he advances. " + But still what " was the main Glory of the First Tem-" ple, those extraordinary Marks of the "Divine Favour, with which it was ho-" noured, were wholly wanting in the " Second. The Jews reckon them up in " these five Particulars: I. The Ark of " the Covenant and the Mercy-Seat, " which was upon it. II. The Shecinah, " or Divine Presence. III. The Urim " and Thummim (which were the Orna-

† Ibid. p. 145. Book III.

<sup>\*</sup> See Connection, p. 142. Book III.

(9)

ments of the High-Priest, when he consulted the Oracle of God. IV. The

" Holy Fire which descended from Hea-

" ven upon the Altar, at the time of

" Solomon's Dedication of the Temple,

" and which they ever after preserved,

as the Rabbins believe, without suffer-

" ing it to be extinguished, till the time

" that the Temple was burnt by the

" Chaldeans. And, V. The Spirit of

" Prophecy."

The Ark is described by the Dean in a very copious manner; and he observes, among other Circumstances, that the Staves upon which it was borne, on the Shoulders of the Levites, \* were overlaid with Gold, and " put thorough Golden " Rings made for them, not on the Sides " of the Ark, as all hitherto have affert-" ed, but on the two Ends of it: A plain " Argument of which is, that the High-" Priest, when he appeared before the " Ark, on the great Day of Expiation, is " faid to have gone up to it between the " Staves." Dr. Prideaux fays nothing of the Form of the Cherubims; they were, as it appears from Ezekiel, (Chap. x. 15, 20.) Animals with Four Heads, one whereof represented a Man, the second a Lion, the third an Ox, and

<sup>\*</sup> See Connection, pag. 150. Book III.

fponding to each respective Species. See what I have said upon this Subject in my Commentary upon the Pentateuch,

Exod. xxv. 18.

It must be confessed, according to the Dean's Opinion, "that they did a-new " make an Ark for the second Temple, †" but it had therein neither the Tables of the Decalogue, nor the Rod of Aaron, nor the Pot of Manna, nor the Shecinah, or Symbol of the Presence of God in the Cloud, nor was any Oracle pronounced from thence. But after the Return of Eldras from the Babylonish Captivity, he made a Collection of the Holy Books, with the Grand Synagogue, or Assembly of the Heads among the Fews, and reposited them in the Ark. This is no where faid in the Old Testament; and it is very certain, that in the Time of Pompey, or of Vespasian, there was none of these in the most Holy of Holies. (See Corn. Tacitus, Book V. Chap. 9. and Buxtorf's Treatise on the Ark, Chap. 21.)

"The Shecinah did first appear when "Moses consecrated the Tabernacle,

and was afterwards on the Confecrating of the Temple by Solomon, trans-

<sup>†</sup> See Connection, pag. 160. Book III.

"lated thither And there it did conti"nue (fays the Dean) in the same visi"ble manner, till that Temple was de"ftroyed, but after that it never ap"peared more \*". This is barely but a
Conjecture, for it is no where said in
Scripture, that this Cloud continued in
the same visible manner from the Dedication by Solomon to the Destruction of
the Temple: Nor is it so much as said,
that it appeared upon the Ark when
they carried it in their Armies. A Circumstance like which, in my Opinion,
ought never to have been omitted, if
true.

In treating upon the Urim and Thummim, the Dean, after rejecting the Opinions of Dr. Spencer, and some others, believes that we must certainly understand by it † " only the Divine Virtue and Power, given to the Breast-Plate in its Consecration, of obtaining an Oraculous Answer from God, whenever Counsel was asked of him by the High-Priest with it on, in such manner as his Word did direct; and that the Names of Urim and Thummim were given hereto, only to denote the Clearness and Perfection which these Oracular Answers always carried

<sup>\*</sup> See Pag. 151. ut supra. † See Pag. 153. ut supra.

" with them. For Urim fignifieth Light, " and Thummim Perfection." But Mofes describes what is thus called, as something which they put upon the Breast-Plate, and which descended oppofite to the Heart of the Person who wore it. Which is, in my Opinion, a Proof that he meant only some external Ornament, fuch as perhaps might be a Collar composed of Carbuncles and Pearls, as the Hebrew Words seem to signify. (See Exodus xxviii. 30.) The Dean has likewise maintained, and with a great deal of Reason, in my Judgment, that the Oracles pronounced by the means of the Urim and Thummim were Vocal Answers: The Question is only, whether it was God himself that made the Sounds of these Answers, or whether he answered by the Mouth of his High Priest, as appears to me more probable. (See what is faid on Numbers xxvii. 21.) Scripture speaks in so few Words of Things of this fort, that it is not easy to resolve in sure and conclusive Terms, the Questions which may be started upon these Heads.

Of this Nature is the Question of which our Author speaks in relation to the Celestial Fire, which fell upon the Altar of Solomon, when he Dedicated It: I mean, whether it was kept in till the

we have nothing Formal or Decisive, either for or against this, in the Scriptures: and I should be apt to believe, that, under the *Idolatrous Kings*, this Fire might very well have been extin-

guished.

Under his Article of the Spirit of Prophecy, which, according to the Rabbins, was wanting to the Second Temple, the Dean has reason not to take this in all its rigour; since the Rabbins very well knew that Haggai, Zachariah and Malachi prophesied under the Second Temple. It must indeed be confessed, that within that Period, they had not so many Prophets as under the First Temple.

According to our Author, \* " Besides

" these Five Things, there was wanting also a Sixth, that is, the Holy Anoint-

" ing Oil, which was made by Moses

" for the Anointing and Consecrating of the King, the High Priest, and all

" the Sacred Vessels made use of in the

"House of God." But here we have again the Rabbins play'd upon us, who only say this, without any Proof to support what they affert. The Dean indeed has reason to say, that the Second Tem-

<sup>\*</sup> See Connection, Pag. 159. ut fupra-

ple, if we may reckon that of Herod to be so, had something whereby all these Wants and Defects were abundantly repaired; that is, in the coming of the Messiah, who frequently honoured it with his Presence, (Malachi iii. 1.

Haggai ii. 7, 9.)

Under the Year 522, before Yesus Christ, Dr. Prideaux speaks fully of the Magians and Sabians, the two principal Sects of the Eastern Idolaters. " Magians were the Worshippers of " Fire, and the Sabians of Images +". To show the Original of Idolatry, he begins with describing the Religion of Noab, which, according to his Sentiments, confifted in "the Worshipping of one God, the Supreme Governour and Creator of all Things, with hopes " in his Mercy through a Mediator." As to the first Article, concerning a God, the Governour and Creator of all Things, I have nothing to object; but I can scarce believe that Noah, or any of his Age, had any Idea of a Mediator. It is not sufficient to shew, that this was a Reasonable Opinion, as the Dean attempts to do, but he ought to have proved directly, that the People of that Age actually beld such a Doctrine. Every

See Connection, Pag. 177. Book III.

thing that is Reasonable does not come within the Conception of all the World. for then all the World had been Christians before the coming of Fesus Christ. We do not find that the ancient Feres had any Idea like this, at least not any fo clear as it is at this Day with us. As Great and Supreme as the Being of God is, and as low and bumble as is That of Man; as we prove in all kinds his Goodness, and that we are his Creatures; this was fufficient Ground for us to Address directly and immediately to God, in hopes of obtaining whatever we stood in need of. So that it is not apparent to us, how the Posterity of Noah imagined, they had a Necessity of chusing Mediators, by the means of whom they might approach the Supreme God, much less reason have we to believe " their Notion of the Sun, Moon, " and Stars, being the Tabernacles or " Habitations of these Mediators \*". We ought to have Passages very express to the Purpose, to suppose that the first Idolaters reasoned in this manner.

In my Opinion, it is more probable that Men began to fall into Idolatry in the Adoration of the Angels that appeared to the Patriarchs in Human Shapes, that by

<sup>\*</sup> See Pag. ult.

degrees they equalized them to the Supreme God, and at length gave them a place among the Stars. To these they afterwards added Human Souls, whom they likewise exalted to the Stars, as is plain from the Instance of Isis, whom the Ægyptians after his Death made a Star, which they called Sothis, that is, the Dog-Star. (See the Philological Index of the learned Mr. Stanley, in his Account of the Eastern Philosophers, under the Words Astra, Idololatria, and Stella.)

The Dean is likewise of Opinion, that they at first worshipped their Mediators, "per Sacella to that is, by their Taber-"nacles, by which they meant the Orbs themselves." A Point which demanded some formal Passage for its Consirmation. He adds to this, that as these Orbs were often under the Horizon, "and thence they were at a loss how to Address them in their absence; to remedy this, they had recourse to the Invention of Images." But of this likewise, he gives no manner of Proof. If I may be permitted to guess, it would be better to say, that these Images owed their Original to the Human Form, under which the Angels appeared, and under which

(17)

the Idolaters worshipped Men, whom after their Death, they raised to the Rank and Dignity of Gods.

"This Religion, according to the Dean,
"first began among the Chaldeans,
"which their Knowledge in Astronomy
helped to lead them to. From the
"Chaldeans, says our Author farther, it

"fpread itself over all the East, where the Professors of it had the Name of Sabians (or Tsabiens.) From them it

"the Grecians, who propagated it to all "the Western Nations of the World †." Notwithstanding this, it might very well be, that Idolatry should be dispersed over Greece by the Inhabitants of Asia Minor, who in the most antient Ages seem to have peopled the Isles of the Archipelago, and the Oriental Coasts of Greece; for the first Colonies do not seem to me to have been planted from any great distance. Besides, the Agyptians were Enemies to Navigation, and were not so presently known to the Greeks, who knew nothing

"\* And therefore Those, continues the "Dean, who mislike the Notion advanced

of Them neither, till they began them-

\* Ibid.

felves to traffick.

<sup>†</sup> Connection, p. 178. Book III.

" by Maimonides, (Moreb Nebochim) that " many of the Fewish Laws were made in " opposition to the Idolatrous Rites of the " Sabians, are much mistaken, when they " object against it, That the Sabians were " an inconsiderable Sect, and therefore " not likely to have been fo far regarded " in that Matter. They are now indeed, " fince the Growth of Christianity and " Mahometism in the World, reduced to " an inconsiderable Sect; but antiently " they were all the Nations of the World that worshipped God by Images. And that Maimonides understood the Name " in this Latitude, is plain from hence, " that he tells us, the Sabians, whom he " spoke of, were a Sect, whose Heresy " had overspread almost all Mankind. " The Remainder of this Sect still sub-" fifts in the East under the same Name " of Sabians, which they pretend to have " received from Sabius (or rather Tfabi) " a Son of Seth." " \* Directly opposite to these were the

"Magians, another Sect, who had their "Original in the same Eastern Countries." For they abominating all Images, wor- "shipped God only by Fire. They began

" first in Persia, and there, and in India,

<sup>\*</sup> CONNECTION, p. 179. Book III.

" were the only Places where this Sect " was propagated, and there they remain " even to this day. Their chief Doctrine " was, that there were two Principles, " One which was the Cause of all Good, " and the Other the Cause of all Evil; "that is to fay, God and the Devil. That " the former is represented by Light, and " the other by Darkness, as their truest

" Symbols."

The Reader may confult what the Learned Mr. Stanley has faid in the First Book of his Lives of the Eastern Philo-Sophers. The Dean discourses likewise of the Religion of the antient Magians, and of Zoroastres, under the 486th Year before the Birth of Christ. You will here meet with whatever the Eastern People hold, whose Tenets are confounded with an Infinity of Fables, as well as those which have proceeded from the Greeks. Their Doctrines are a furprizing Collection of Contradictions and Chimera's, as may be easily observed from the Article which Monsieur Bayle has given us, in his Dictionary, upon this Head; where it is very hard to extract and disengage those few Truths, which are so blended with the Lyes of the Grecian and Oriental Systems. They, who have a Desire to know what the Persian and Arabick Authors hold, need only confult the

Learned Mr. Hyde, Of the Religion of the

antient Persians +.

|| Under the Year 458 before the Birth of Christ, our Author speaks of Ezra, and under the Year 446, of what he did towards collecting together, and setting forth, a correct Edition of the Holy Scriptures \*.

The Dean observes with a great deal of Reason, that " This Ezra was not " the immediate Son, but of the Descen-" dants of Seraiab the High Priest, who " was flain by Nebuchadnezzar, when " he burnt the Temple and City of Feru-" falem; for then he must have been, at " leaft, 132 Years old, when he returned " to Ferusalem: which is by no means " credible. And yet we find him alive " in the Time of Nehemiah, fifteen Years " after, when according to this Account " he must have been 147 Years old, tho' " he was then of that Vigour, as to bear " the Fatigue of reading the Law for a " whole Forenoon together to all the "People of the Jews: which is a thing wholly unlikely in those Days \*.

\* Idem, p. 321.

<sup>†</sup> Printed at Oxford, 1700. in 4to.

<sup>||</sup> Connection, p. 260, &c. Book V.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Idem, p. 260, & feq.

As our Author is of opinion, that † the Beginning of the 70 Weeks of Daniel is to be fixed down to this Year, which was the Seventh Year of the Reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; he thereunder treats amply of this Affair, and lays it down for certain, that the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, was the Commission granted to Ezra by Artaxerxes, to bring back the Fews who were willing to accompany him. If we take this Explication for granted, as it has a great deal of Probability on its side, the Dean is of opinion, That the Seventh Year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, being coincident with the Year of the Julian Period 4256, if we reckon from thence seven Weeks and fixty two Weeks. or 483 Years, (and if we then add one) this will lead us down to the very Year in which the Ministry of the Gospel first began \*. We have no more to do, but to throw our Eyes on the Tables of the 13th Book, De Doctrina Temporum. The Manner in which the Dean has explained this Prophecy, is indeed as probable as any other; but Those, who maintain that Christ suffered in the 29th Year of the common Æra, as Father Bonjour

<sup>†</sup> Connection, p. 265. Book V. Idem, p. 291. Book V.

does, (of whom mention is made in the 15th Tome of the Bibliotheque Choisie) will insist that their Opinion is every whit as probable as his. This whole Article of Dr. Prideaux is well worthy of

the general Perufal.

The same Regard is to be had to what he has advanced, upon that Occasion, concerning the Age of Nebemiah and Sanballat; but which I know not how to fum up, so as to make it intelligible, without a greater Compass than can be here allowed. Let every one therefore refer to the Original. He maintains, that all that is contained in the 12th Chapter of Nehemiah, from the Beginning of it to the 27th Verse of the same, was never written by Nehemiah; as many other Learned Men have likewise conjectured. He there in effect speaks of the High Priest Faddua, as to his having lived down to the Time of Darius the Perfian, the last of that Name, and who was conquered by Alexander. "It is an In-" terpolation, says the Dean, there in-" ferted long after his Death by those, who " received this Book into the Canon of " Scripture. For as Ezra, as far as he " went in that Collection, which he " made of the Holy Scriptures, inferted " in feveral Places fuch Interpolations, as " he thought necessary for the clearer " under-

understanding of them; fo they who " laboured after him in the perfecting of " the faid Collection, did the fame in "the Books, which they afterwards ad-" ded to it, till they had compleated the " whole, about the Time of Simon the " Just. For he being the last of those, " whose Labours were employed in the " fettling the Canon of the Scriptures of " the Old Testament, and this Book be-" ing the last that was received into it, " as being the last that was written, it " is justly reckoned to have been in his " Time, that it was first thus received " into the Number of the Sacred Books, " and then this Interpolation was added " by him, and those who were affisting " to him in this Work.——And that " this is an Interpolation, the Interrup-"tion, which is made thereby in the "Sense and Connection of that part of " the Book, doth sufficiently show; and " most Learned Men, that have consider'd " this Matter, are now convinced that "it is fo \*." Others, as well as Petavius, have been of the same mind, and those who will take the pains to read this Passage with Attention, will, I believe, come into this Opinion. We ought from hence to conclude, that it is to very little

<sup>\*</sup> Connection, p. 301. Book V.

purpose that those zealous People, but People of a very un-enlightened Zeal, have been offended that some should concur in Opinion, that the like Interpolations have been made in the Pentateuch. The Reasons of every thing agreeing well together, which is made an Objection to this, have no force against positive Facts; and we are not to look for in Scripture what we wish to find there, but to be-

lieve what we find.

Dr. Prideaux has subjoined several curious Remarks to combat the Opinion of those, who do not believe that the Artaxerxes, who in the feventh Year of his Reign granted Ezra the Commission, from the Date whereof our Author begins to number the seventy Weeks, could be Artaxerxes Longimanus +. The fame Prince granted a new Commission to Nehemiah in the twentieth Year of his Reign: for the Scripture, which makes Nehemiah and Ezra Contemporaries, will not admit any Doubts upon this Head. But say some, the Age of Nebemiah, and that of Sanballat, will not fuffer that this should be the Artaxerxes who was sirnamed Longimanus; for Nebemiah, Chap. xii. 22. speaking of the Reign of Darius Codomanus, King of

<sup>†</sup> Connection, p. 305, & feq. Book V.

Persia, and of the time wherein Faddua was High Priest, as of Things past, must consequently have survived both the one and the other. However, from the twentieth Year of Artaxerxes, down to that Time, he must have been 123 Years old; to which, if you add the 30 Years which Nebemiah must have had to be Governour of Judea, then he must have been 153 Years old, or little less, if he was made Governour younger. But we do not find Instances of Persons of that Age being chosen into Employments of fuch Importance. For Sanballat, he too must have been yet Older, as is made very plain. The Dean refutes those who would have it, that it was Darius Nothus of whom mention is made, Nehem. xii. 22. or who would have it, that there were two Sanballats\*. But these Sentiments are not given into, only to make Fosephus agree with the Holy Scriptures, or rather the Holy Scriptures with Fosephus; for without that Historian, there had been no Suspicion of this kind. For we should never have had but one Sanballat any more than we should have had but one Nehemiah, who Both lived under the Reign of Artaxerxes Lon-gimanus. But for fear of slipping into

<sup>\*</sup> See Connection, Pag. 298. & feq. Book V.

an Error in his opposing Fosephus, he was obliged to find a Sanballat under the Reign of Alexander the Great, because he had placed him in that Period, for want of understanding History and Chronology. It is this that has drawn a Censure on that Author, from the Dean. If the Objection is in itself strong, it is likewise no less justly founded. "We dis-" cover in his Works, says the Dean, " that they have in them many great " and manifest Mistakes, and no part of " them more than the Eleventh Book of Antiquities, in which is written what " gives the Ground for this Objection. " For therein he frequently varies from " Scripture, History, and Common Sense, " which manifestly proves it to have been " the least consider'd, and the worst di-" gested, of all that he hath written. "Therein he makes Cambyses, who was " the first that reigned after Cyrus, to " have been the Persian King, that by " his Decrees forbad the going on with " the Rebuilding the Temple; whereas " the Scripture plainly tells us it was " Artaxerxes, who is there named in " the third place after Cyrus †". What made Josephus commit this Error, is, that he hath pass'd over

Abasuerus, who is named, Esdras iv. 6. as the first King to whom the Enemies of the Fews wrote against them, and who might well have been Cambyses the Son of Cyrus. But there is not one Word faid that he laid any Prohibition upon the Jews against Rebuilding. This is attributed only to Artaxerxes, who is named in the following Verse, and distinguished from him in the preceding one. It seems probable that this was Magus Smerdis; "He " inserts into this Book, continues the " Dean, out of the Apocryphal Esdras, " the fabulous and abfurd Story of the " three Chamberlains contending before "Darius Hystaspis about what was " Strongest +; and making Zerubbabel" to be one of them, and to obtain the "Victory in this Contest, he introdu-" ceth Darius giving him, for the Re-" ward of this Victory, a Decree for " another Return of the Captive Israelites, " to Judea, which is neither spoken of " in Scripture, nor consisting with it; " and placeth at the Head of those who " he saith then returned, Zerubbabel the "Governour, and Feshua the High " Priest: whereas it is certain, from " Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, that

<sup>†</sup> Wine, the Power of a King, Women, or Truth.

E 2 " they

" they were then both at Ferusalem:

" And there, on the Exhortations of the two

"Prophets last mentioned, setting forward the Rebuilding of the Temple \* ".

All this is clear and evident. And we know not how to excuse Fosephus for having read the Scriptures so negligently, or for not having followed them in spite of all his Protestations to the contrary; tho he had no other Monuments or Authorities in which he could confide. " And then he goes on, " says the Dean, out of the same Ro-" mance, to relate, as consequential to " this fecond Return (which is wholly " fictitious) all that which the Scriptures " tell us was done after the first, and " in some Particulars very much exceeds " the Fictions of the Romancer himself. " For he makes those who came from " Babylon to Judea in this fictitious " Return, to be Four Millions Eight "Thousand Six Hundred eighty four

"Men; a monstrous Number!"†

The Dean attributes, as it appears to me, to Josephus (Book XI. Chap. iii. and x. according to the Distinction of Dr. Hudson's Edition, printed at Oxford) the Faults which are made by his Tranfcribers. These are his Words: To reparatory

<sup>†</sup> See Connection, pag. ult. Book V. \* Ibid.

των άπεςχομένων περί έτη δώδεκα την ήλικίαν γερονόζων εκ ન 'Ιέδα φυλής κ Βενιαμίπδος, μυσιάδες τε σπόσιοι εξήποντα No, no onlans ginios: i.e. The Number of those who returned from twelve Years of Age and upwards, of the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin, were four bundred fixty two Myriads, and eight Thousand. the first Edition by Froben, the Number of Myriads, or Tens of Thousands, is expressed by the Letters vgs' which make 462 in our Figures; that is to fay, that they amounted to Four Millions Six hundred and Twenty eight thousand Persons. In the Oxford Edition beforementioned, these Numbers are expressed in Words at length, and there you have infantonos instead of oxlanomai, for uverades is of the Feminine Gender. But this does nothing to the Purpose; I should rather believe that Fosephus had wrote uverdoes o', xixidoes B'; resandonos β', for this Reason, that the Greek Interpreters of Esdras have precisely set this very Number. I don't know why the Dean puts at the end 684 Men, of which I do not find a Syllable in the Greek Text. I should imagine that the Numbers which were placed between μυειάλις and ξβ', are now wrote wrong, and that the Transcribers either changed them, or fet them down according to their own Fancy. It is very well known, that an infinity of Faults has been committed

in ancient Books in point of Numbers, and we likewise find in the Words of our Author, that one Mistake is crept in, in setting down the Number of Josephus, since instead of Six hundred twenty eight thousand, he has it Eight thousand six hundred and eighty four; an Error which cannot be attributed to the Dean, but to his Transcriber. I therefore do not say this as a Reproach in any kind, but only give this Observation a place here, as an Instance of the Faults which Transcribers frequently commit.

What makes me guess that the Copiers of Fosephus are the real Authors of the Numbers in this Passage, is, that the Error is too enormous for such a Man as Fosephus to fall into. And the Dean confirms this Conjecture of mine, where he adds, that Fosephus makes "the Wo-" men and Children that belonged to " them to be no more than Forty thou fand " seven bundred and forty two; a Difor proportion which is utterly incredible, " especially among those who had Plu-" rality of Wives." † For this Reason it is in no kind credible, that Fosephus should make the Number of those that returned above Four Millions and fix bundred thousand Persons.

The Dean adds, that Fosephus " makes " Xernes, who succeeded Darius Hy-

" staspis (Jewish Antiq. Book XI. Ch. v.)
" to have been that Artaxerxes of the

"to have been that Artaxerxes of the Holy Scriptures, who fent Ezra and

" Nehemiah to Jerusalem; whereas the

" 32d Year of that Artaxerxes is men-

" tioned in Scripture, and it is certain the

" Reign of Xerxes did not exceed One

" and twenty " \*.

Dr. Prideaux has doubtless all the Argument of his Side, and Fosephus cannot be excused for mistaking Xerxes for Artaxerxes, who is expresly named in Ezra, Chap. viii. ver. 1. and in Nehemiah, Chap. xiii. ver. 6. The Dean likewise very well proves, in the Sequel of his Discourse, that there was but one Sanballat, who was a Contemporary of Nehemiah; and that the other whom Fosephus brings down to the Time of Alexander the Great, was one purely of his own Invention. He makes Sanballat to live a great deal longer than he really did, and it is this which has imposed upon the Learned, and made them believe that there were two; fince they could not imagine that he, who had been freed among those with Nebemiah, could be

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid.

the same with him that lived in the time of Alexander.

"That which led Fosephus into this " Error, says Dr. Prideaux, I take it, " was the common Notion that hath long " obtained among his Countrymen, that " the Darius whom Alexander conquer-" ed was the Son of Abasuerus by " Esther. +" Now this being supposed, he ought to have made him the Successor to Artaxerxes, who, according to Fosephus, is the same with Abasuerus, as the Greek Interpreter of the Book of Esther was of Opinion before him; not Darius Nothus who succeeded him, but Darius Codomanus, who was conquered by Alexander. As the Jews read nothing of the Greek Books from which they might have learned the Succession of the Persian. Kings, it was very easy for them to commit fo grand a Mistake, and every one knows that they have committed others as gross in their Thalmud. the Confirmation of what I have been faying, that Fosephus believed Abasuerus to be Artaxerxes, we need only read the Sixth Chapter of his Eleventh Book. But Josephus had expresly said it, as I believe, from the beginning of his Chapter, and every one might read it there, if you

(33)

take away the Mittake made by the Transcribers. These are the Words with which he begins, TENEUTHORNTOS SE E(g. 7 lui Baσιλείων εις τ υίν Κυεον, εν 'Αρζαξέρξην "Ελληνες καλέσ, ouvieln uslaciiva. i. e. But upon the Demise of Xerxes, his Kingdom descended to his Son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes. Instead of Kugor, Cyrus, we ought to read 'Agoshov, Affuerus. It is a wonder to me, that those who have published Josephus, were not at all aware of this. Some Pagan Transcriber, who knew that there were two Cyrus's, Kings of Persia, but who did not know that one Artaxerxes was likewise called Affuerus, gave him the Name of Cyrus; and the succeeding Transcribers kept it so in their Copies, without any Enquiry into the Matter. We may fee moreover by the fifth Chapter, where Fosephus relates a great many things, which the Books of Ezra and Nebemiab tell us were transacted under-Artaxerxes, as if they had happened under Xerxes; One may fee, I fay, from thence, that Dr. Prideaux had reason to fay, he could eafily cure other Faults in Fosephus, besides those which he has remarked. After this we ought not to be furprized, that a Man, who so hardily departs from the Scriptures, in a Hiltory which he borrows only from them, should fpeak

speak ill upon a Point, which he could

only learn from the Greeks.

His History makes it appear, as the Dean fays, with much Reason, that he believed that a Son of Abasuerus, or of Artaxerxes Longimanus, was the last King of the Persians. " \* For having " therein given us an Account of all the " Kings of Persia, from Cyrus to Arta-" xerxes Longimanus, in that exact Series " of Succession, in which they reign'd " one after the other, he leaps all at once " down to Darius Codomanus, the last " of these Kings, without saying a single "Word of those that fall in betwixt the " two. Which is a plain Argument that " he took that last Darius to have been " the Darius that succeeded the Arta-" xerxes, who has been before mention'd," For had not this been the Case, he had certainly faid something of the State, in which the Fews found themselves, under the succeeding Kings, to the Time of Darius Codomanus. This may make us entertain some Doubts of what he fays concerning the Manner in which Alexander treated the Fews, and of that Respect with which this Prince saluted Jaddua the High-Priest. Nor does he deserve that we should credit him, as to what he

<sup>\*</sup> Connection, Book V. p. 305.

(35)

says to the Advantage of his own Nation in that Regard; because he makes no Scruple even of Untruths in their favour.

In this same Book our Author begins to recount what Ezra did in favour of the Fewish Nation, and explains it at full length. " † The two chief things which " he had to do, were to restore the Ob-" fervance of the Fewish Law, according " to the antient approved Usages, which " had been in practice before the Capti-" vity under the Directions of the Pro-" phets; and to collect together, and fet " forth a correct Edition of the Holy " Scriptures: in the Performance of Both " which, the Fews tell us, he had the " Assistance of what they call the Great " Synagogue, which they tell us, was a "Convention confifting of one hundred " and twenty Men, who lived all at the " fame time under the Presidency of Ezra, " and were affifting to him in Both these "two Works: and among these they " name Daniel, and his three Friends, " Shadrach, Mesach, and Abednego, as the " first of them, and Simon the Just as " the last of them." They pretend that they were all Contemporaries.

\* Ibid.

<sup>†</sup> Connection, Book V. p. 3214

" from the last Mention which we have of Daniel in the Holy Scriptures, to " the Time of Simon the Just, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty Years. But all this they reconcile " by that absurd and wretched Account, which they give of the History of those "Times. For they tell us, that the whole " Persian Empire lasted only fifty two " Years, and that the Darius whom we " call Darius Histaspis, (or rather No-" thus, as we have above taken notice) " was the Darius whom Alexander con-" quered; and that Simon the Just was " the same with Jaddua the High-Priest,
" who received Alexander at Jerusa-" lem." And according to this Account, Daniel and Jaddua might have been Contemporaries. But as the Chronology, and Computation, is false, we can have no Assistance from it herein. In order to find some Truth in what the Fews fay, our Author will have it, " † That thefe " one hundred and twenty Men were " fuch Principal Elders, as lived in a con-" tinued Succession from the first Return of the Jews after the Babylonish Cap-tivity, to the Death of Simon the Just, " and laboured in their several Times, " fome after others, in the carrying on

<sup>\*</sup> Connection, Book V. p. 321, &c.

" of the two great Works abovemen-" tioned, till Both were fully compleated " in the Time of the faid Simon the Fust, " (who was made High-Priest of the " Fews in the 25th Year after the Death " of Alexander the Great) and Ezra " had the Assistance of such of them as "lived in his Time. But the whole " Conduct of the Work, and the Glory " of accomplishing it, is by the Jews chiefly attributed to him, in testimony " of their fingular Respect." But it is not very fafe to put any Confidence in the Fewish Histories, and this whole Relation may probably be a Fable, almost even to Ezra's labouring to establish the Observation of the Law among the Jews, as he himself witnesses in his Book. There can be no Certainty in the retouching a Fable to reduce it to an History.

The Dean next proceeds to give us a Definition of the Respect which the Jews paid to the Oral Law, and which is likewise but a meer Fable without any Foundation: He afterwards says something of the Manner in which the Thalmud was compiled; but I shall make no Stop upon this Head, since this was not put in execution till several Ages afterwards.

The great Business of Ezra in this Matter, "was to get together as many "Copies of the Sacred Writings as he could,

"could, and out of them all set forth a cor"rect Edition \*." This is according to the Account of the Fews, and the Christian Doctors have gone much farther; but all this is neither founded upon Scripture, nor any other Author that deserves our Credit: so that we can in no kind rely upon it.

The Dean afterwards has a great number of Remarks upon all the Books of which the Holy Scriptures did then confift, the disposing them in their proper Order, and the settling the Canon of Scripture in Ezra's Time; upon such Parts of the Scripture as they read then in their Synagogues, and upon the Chapters and Verses respectively: but the Division of these two last cannot be thrown back to any great distance of Time, as our Author makes it evident t.

"The third thing, as Dr. Prideaux informs us, which Ezra did about the

" Holy Scriptures in his Edition of them,

" was, he added in feveral Places through-" out the Books of this Edition, what

"appeared necessary for the illustrating,

" connecting, or compleating of them;

" wherein, fays the Dean, he was affift-" ed by the same Spirit by which they

" were at first wrote: of this fort we

" may reckon the last Chapter of Deu-

<sup>\*</sup> Connection, p.331. Book V. & feq. † Ibid.

"teronomy, which giving an Account of the Death and Burial of Moses, and of the Succession of Joshua after him, it could not be written by Moses himself, who undoubtedly was the Pen-Man of all the rest of that Book. It seems most probable, that it was added by Ezra at this Time \*." But could it not as probably be added by any other Pro-

phet?

I may reasonably make the same Question upon those other Additions, of which the Dean has likewise amassed a considerable Number. I think that in a Matter of this nature, he should have been somewhat less positive and dogmatical: when we lay down a System which is not sounded upon any certain Authority, or conclusive Reasons, we ought to speak with some Doubt and Shew of Uncertainty. Otherwise we run the hazard of deceiving ourselves, and the more Consequences we pretend to draw, the more we run the Risque of putting off Romance for real History.

There is a great deal more reason to affirm, as Dr. Prideaux maintains in his subsequent Pages, "† That Ezra wrote "out the whole in the Chaldee Character. For That having now grown

<sup>\*</sup> Connection, p. 342, & feq. Book V. † P.345. "wholly

" wholly into Use among the People af-" ter the Babylonish Captivity, he chan-" ged the old Hebrew Character for it, " which hath since that Time been re-" tained only by the Samaritans, among " whom it is preserved even to this day. " --- For the Chaldee-Character is one " of the beautifullest, and the Samaritan " the uncouthest, and the most uncapa-" ble of Calligraphy of all that have " been used among the different Nations " of the World. But the Opinion of most " learned Men, and upon good Grounds, " is on the other fide; for there are ma-" ny old Fewish Shekels still in being, " and others of the same fort are fre-" quently dug up in Judea, with In" scriptions on them in Samaritan Let-" ters."

Another Point that has been greatly questioned, is, "\* Whether Ezra on this "Review did add the Vowel Points" which are in the Hebrew Bibles; or "whether this be a more recent Invention." It is a Controversy which has been disputed with a great deal of Warmth between Lodovicus Capellus, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Saumur, and Buxtorf (the Son) of Basil. The former has maintained in his Arca-

<sup>\*</sup> CONNECTION, p. 346.

num Punctationis, printed at Leyden in 1624, that these Points were invented by the Masorites after the compiling of the Talmud: and the Other, in 1647, attempted to confute him, in a Book intitled, De Punctorum, Vocalium, & Accentuum, in Libris Veteris Testamenti, Origine. Capellus replied to him in another Treatise, which he called Arcani Punttationis Vindicia; which did not appear till a long while after the Decease of Both of them, in the Year 1689, in the Collection of Capellus his Critica Sacra, printed at Amsterdam. To which Books it is necessary Recourse should be had, in order to form a just Judgment upon this important Question. Dr. Prideaux, however, does not fail to give us an Idea elegant and copious enough for the general understanding of the Matter in this Debate. He begins with the Arguments produced by Capellus, and then subjoins those of Buxtorf: After which, he couches his own Sentiments of the Matter under the Six following Divisions. (Pag. 352. Book V.)

I. "That the Vowel Points having ne-" ver been received by the Fews into "their Synagogues, this feems to be a " certain Evidence that they were never " anciently looked on by them as an " Authentick part of the Holy Scripture

" of the Old Testament; since they, to

"to this Day, make use of Copies that

" have no Points at all." † II. "That it is most likely that these " Vowel Points were the Invention of " the Nazarites, a little after the Time " of Ezra; for that when the Hebrew " Language ceased to be the Mother-"Tongue of the Jews, as it is agreed " on all Hands that it did after the Baby-" lonish Captivity, it was scarce possible " to teach that Language without these " Vowel Points." \* Upon this Head the Dean takes some scope, to shew, that tho a Language already perfectly known might be read without these Vowels, as the Arabians read theirs, yet it was not possible that the Jewish People, who had forgot their old Hebrew in the Chaldee, could read their Hebrew Books. But, in the first place, the Jews had not entirely lost the Use of their Language in the Chaldee; tho it must doubtless be granted, that they had confiderably corrupted it, by their Intercourse with Babylon, and otherwise. This is evident by the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are, for the greatest part in Hebrew, as well as by those of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, who would never have taken care to prophefy in a

Tongue that was unknown. Secondly,

See Connection, p. 347. Book V. \* Ibid p. 351. & feq. The

(43)

The Use of the Hebrew might very reafonably be preserved among the Jews, because they did not mingle much with Nations, but kept chiefly one among another. Thirdly, The Affinity between the Hebrew and the Chaldee likewise preserved the Knowledge of the Language. It was not therefore fo difficult, as we may believe, to read the Hebrew without Points. Fourtbly, Nor is there any Necessity to suppose, that the common Jews could with ease come at the reading of the Sacred Books in the Hebrew; it was sufficient for them that they heard them read and explained in the Chaldce in their Synagogues, and that they should put an implicit Faith in their Doctors, who, from the Time of Ezra, and during the succeeding Ages, instructed their Disciples, viva voce, to read the Hebrew. We know very well, that the Jews, for some Ages before Jesus Christ, adhered more to Oral Tradition than the Scriptures themselves. Fifthly, If they made any Faults in the Manner of their reading, they put themselves in no great Pain about the Matter; as we see the Greek Interpreters, whom we call the Septuagint, have made a considerable Number of Mistakes, which they would easily have avoided, if they had had a Copy with Points. But notwithstanding G 2 this, this, they have passed for Inspired Writers among the Hellenist Fews, such as Philo was; and Josephus himself, who was a Hebraist, if I may so express my self, gives them his Testimony of being very exact.

III. "\* These Vowel Points were for

" many Ages only of private Use among the Masorites, whereby they preserved

" to themselves the true Readings of the "Holy Scriptures, and taught them to

" their Scholars; but they were not re-

" ceived into the Divinity-Schools till

" after the making of the Talmud."

First, If any one says this was otherwise, either among the Jews or Christians, we might regard it as a Fact which Tradition had preserved; but as it is but a Conjecture to solve a Dissiculty of Capellus, that if they had Points from the Time of Esdras, they had not been unknown either to the ancient Greek Interpreters, or to St. Jerom, or to the Talmudists; we should find it a great Dissiculty to pass this upon our Author. Secondly, Some will indeed say, that a Conjecture is no Fact, and that we should be very cautious how we use such Conjectures in the writing of History, for fear it should descend into a Ro-

<sup>\*</sup> See CONNECTION, Pag. 358. Book V.

mance, by joining too many of these Guesses together, and drawing Consequences from them.

quences from them. IV. " + All those Criticisms in the " Masorab, that are upon the Points, " were made by fuch Masorites as lived " after the Points were received into the "Divinity-Schools of the Jews. For " this Profession of Men continued from " the Time of Ezra, and the Men of " the Great Synagogue, to that of Ben " Asher and Ben Nephthali, who were " two famous Masorites, that lived about " the Year of our Lord 1030, and were " the last of them. For they having, " after many Years Labour spent herein, " each of them publish'd a Copy of the " whole Hebrew Text, as correct as they " could make it, the Eastern Fews have " followed that of Ben Nephthali, and " the Western Jews have followed that " of Ben Asher; and all that hath been " done ever fince, is exactly to copy after " them, both as to the Points and " Accents, as well as to the Letters, with-" out making any more Corrections or " Masoritical Criticisms or Observations " upon either. These Masorites, who " were the Authors of the Masorab that " is now extant, were a monstrous tri-

<sup>†</sup> See Connection, pag. 359. & seq. Book V.

fling fort of Men, whose Criticisms and Observations went no higher than the Numbring of the Verses, Words and Letters of every Book in the Hebrew Bible, and the marking out which was the middle Verse, Word and Letter of them; and the making of other such poor and low Observations concerning them, as are not worth any Man's

" reading, or taking notice of."

But it was not fo, that those who had that Name given them among the Christians, according to the Custom of the Greek and Latin Antiquity, acquired to themselves their Reputation. If they had not done something more for the Preservation of the New Testament, they had made but very little progress in the Fame of future Ages. It is very probable, that these two Rabbins, if any such Men as they ever lived, did consult at least a few ancient Manuscripts, by the assistance of which, each compleated his Edition. But it must be owned, that there is a great deal of Irregularity in the manner of writing the Consonants, and in the Vowels, which they have written under them; and which makes it evident that they who publish'd these Editions, did nothing more than Confecrate the Faults of their Copies. If we had the Exemplars extant, which were only in the

the Time of Origen, I doubt not but the Matter in Dispute would appear to us

in a quite different Light.

V. " \* These Vowel Points having been added to the Text with the best Care " of those who best understood the Lan-" guage, and having undergoned wiew and Corrections of many Ages, it wiew and Corrections of many Ages, it " been done in the perfectest manner that " it can be done by Man's Art; and that " none who shall undertake a new Punc-" tuation of the whole, can do it better: " However, (continues the Dean) since " it was done only by Man's Art, it is " no authentick part of the Holy Scrip-" tures, and therefore these Points are " not fo unalterably fixed to the Text, " but that a Change may be made in " them, when the Nature of the Context, " or the Analogy of Grammar, or the " Stile of the Language, or any thing " else, shall give a sufficient Reason for " it."

Whatever might farther be urged concerning the Learning, and great Care of these Masorites, there might still be Faults in these Consonants which have been caused by the Distance of Time. and the Mistakes of Transcribers, as it

<sup>\*</sup> See Connection, Pag. 360. Book V. happens

happens in all other Books, but particularly in the New Testament, as is evident from the Variety of different Readings. We are to presume, that the Divine Providence, in a peculiar manner, watched over the Old Testament, lest Time, or Transcribers, should give rife to any Mistakes which might be liable to introduce any thing opposite to the Law of Moses: But this Divine Vigilance did not extend so far as to regard Grammatical Niceties, or any thing else which had not immediate Reference to that Law. We may fay the fame as to the New Testament, the Preservation whereof might, to use that Expression, interest the Divine Providence; but it did not prevent the creeping in of various Readings, as we plainly find, but none of which introduces any new Doctrine, or is opposite to any yet laid down. If we had but as great a Number of Hebrew Copies that were as ancient, in proportion from the Times wherein the Originals were written, we should not probably find fewer Readings, as we must acknowledge from that Variety which we may draw from the Translation of the Septuagint, and which, as Capellus has demonstrated, are very numerous. we had any Manuscripts of the Old Testament of 2000 Years date or upwards, we

we should soon perceive that the ancient Jewish Copiers did not less disagree with one another, than Those of the Greeks do, who have copied the New. But as the Edition of the New Testament by Alcala de Henares, has almost entirely fixed the Text of the Apostles Writings; the Editions of the Masorites, for about 1000 Years past, have regulated those of the Prophets, as they stand at this Day.

VI. "† It doth not from hence follow,

" (by what we have said concerning the "Masorites, the Inventors of Pointing" in the Hebrew Text) that the Sacred

"Text will therefore be left to an arbi-

" trary and uncertain Reading. For the genuine Reading is as certain in

"the unpointed Hebrew Books, as the

" genuine Sense is in the pointed; the

" former indeed may sometimes be mista-

" ken or perverted, and fo may the lat-

" ter: and therefore whether the Books

" be pointed or unpointed, this doth not

" alter the Case to one who thoroughly

"knows the Language, and will honeftly

" read the same."

I shall proceed no farther in the Examination of this Work at present, but

<sup>†</sup> See Page 360.

shall resume it in the ensuing Volumes of my Bibliotheque; beginning regularly from that part of the History where I now leave off, and making such suitable Observations, as I have done upon the Passages I have already examined.

I think I may not here improperly subjoin some Observations which I have made upon the First Part of the Dutch Version of this Work abovementioned, made by Mr. Driebergh, which was transmitted to me since the Beginning of these Remarks went to the Press.

His Version is equally faithful and elegant, as all must allow that understand the Dutch Tongue. But he has not contented himself with the Labour of Translating only, tho that of itself was a Task of Difficulty; but he has likewife taken the Pains to fearch into all the Paffages quoted by Dr. Prideaux, in their Originals, and every where to make the most accurate References to them. He has moreover given Quotations from many Modern Authors, either in confirmation, or for the clearing up of what the Dean advances. He fometimes also subjoins his own Sentiments upon the Subjects handled, and does not always confine himself to subscribe to the Opinion

Opinion of his Author whom he translates. But whenever he differs from the Dean in Sentiment, he does it with the utmost Modesty, and confesses all the Esteem imaginable for him. It is a Liberty always allowed to the Translators, or Interpreters of Authors, to make their Remarks in this manner, provided they distinguish their Observations from the Text, as Mr. Driebergh has every where done, by putting his Additions between two distinct Crochets for that purpose.

Monsieur Vitringa, the Elder, who is a very excellent Judge in these Parts of Learning, and whose Impartiality is univerfally confessed, having obtained a Sight of part of this Work before it was published, without the Author's Knowledge, was pleas'd to return it to the Bookseller with an Approbation not only much in Honour of the Dean's Performance, but of the Translator's likewife, and of his Remarks. Which Approbation Monsieur Vitringa gave to be prefix'd to the Book.

To give the Readers some Idea of Mr. Driebergh's Notes, it will be proper to produce some few of them in this

Place.

Under the Year 1522, before the Birth of Christ, Dr. Prideaux having related to us how the Seven great Princes of Persea had defeated the Magian Smerdis and his Faction, he fays, "That it was " from this Time, that they first had the " Name of Magians, which fignifying " the cropt-ear'd, it was then given un-" to them by way of Nick-Name and " Contempt, because of this Impostor " who was thus cropt \*." He quotes upon this Head the Authority of an Arabick Lexicon, intitled, Alcamus or Camus, which fays, " That Mige-Gush fignified " in the Language of that Country then " in use, one who had his Ears cropt; " and that all the Sect of the Magians " were so called from a Ring-Leader of " that Sect, who was thus cropt +." Under this Article likewise the Dean collects what Herodotus, Justin, and other Authors write of this Smerdis, plainly shewing that he was the Man.

Mr. Driebergh says hereto, and with a great deal of Reason, in my opinion, That the Original of this Name of the Persian Sages is in no kind probable. This Sect, who were then in great Reputation and Esteem at the Persian Court, after that Accident besell Smerdis,

<sup>\*</sup> CONNECTION, Book III. p. 176. † Ibid.

of having his Ears cut off, ceafed to take upon themselves a Name that carried Reproach along with it. He thinks it much more likely and reasonable, that They, who introduced that Science or Religion, which was called the Magia, or Magick, in Persia, obtained their Appellation from the Name of that Country, from which they originally descended: in like manner as the Sages of the Babylonians bore the Stile of Chaldeans, as coming from the Region called Chaldea. There was, to fay the truth, a People in Media, whom they called Magi, as he proves from Herodotus and Strabo, as corrected by Casaubon. We may likewise give Etymologies of the Word Magus, drawn from the Oriental Languages, much more happy and probable than That produced from Alcamus. The Arabians, or modern Persians, are too little skill'd in the antient Tongues of their own Countries, for us to lay any Stress, or ground any Argument upon their Suppositions.

Mr. Driebergh likewise proves, in relation to the Word Sabians, which Dr. Prideaux makes a general Name, to signify all such as worshipped Images, that this Title is of no greater Antiquity, than the Alcoran and such other Arabick Writers, as wrote within a short Time after Mahomet. It is no where to be found either

either in Greek or Latin Authors, which gives us great room to believe that this Name, to distinguish any certain particular Sect, is not of that antient Date, which the Doctor would have us think it is. This is a Point, which very well deferves to be thoroughly examined. I have said a Word or two, in the Philological Index by the Learned Mr. Stanley, upon the Name of the Sabeans, that it should rather be written Tsabiens, not to confound it with the Name of those People so called in Arabia Felix.

Under the Year 486, Mr. Driebergh proves, from the very direct Passages in Strabo, that the Magi had considerable Societies and Temples in Pontus and Cappadocia. Mr. Stanley has touch'd this Matter but very short and slightly, towards the Conclusion of his second Book of the Lives of the Oriental Philosophers. But Dr. Prideaux is wholly silent upon

this Subject.

Under the Year 332, where the Dean has spoken "of the profound Awe, and "religious Veneration, with which A-"lexander the Great saluted Jaddua, "the Jewish High-Priest" (according to the Account given by Josephus, Book XI. Chap. 8.) Mr. Driebergh observes, that our Historian "introduces Parmenio, "while all stood amazed at this Beha-"viour

" viour of the King, which was fo much " contrary to their Expectations, asking " Alexander the Reason of it, and how " it came to pass that He, whom all a-" dored, Should pay such Adoration to the " Jewish High-Priest." But Alexander as yet had not ordered himself to be worshipped, as Mr. Driebergh very well obferves. But to this Observation it may be objected, That tho the Greeks did not yet in Truth pay him any Rites of Adoration, nor he at that time had exacted any from Them, the Eastern People might nevertheless worship him, and he not hinder them from fo doing: and that it is of these Nations whom Fosephus is to be understood to speak. Notwithstanding, that Historian has retailed such a Number of idle Fables, and downright Untruths, in the Course of his Book, that he is in no kind worthy to be credited; and in nothing less than in this one Pasfage, where he makes it his Business to raise the Jews above the Samaritans. is in this very Chapter, that he makes Sanballat to be living in the Reign of Alexander; because he found it more to his Purpose to have the Fews preferred to the Samaritans, by Alexander, who fubdued the Empire of the Persians, than by Artaxerxes Longimanus, a King of that Nation. Fosephus cannot be counted of that Reputation for the Verity of his History, that in favour to his Representation we should rather allow two Sanballats, than accuse him of a Mistake or Falsification, as Dr. Prideaux hath sufficiently proved Both upon him. late Mr. Van Dale, a very zealous Enemy of Falshoods and Impostures, has charged that Historian with Untruths, and also in the same Dissertation challenged a great many Fables of Fosephus \*. Some others likewise have affirmed, that we ought to put amongst the Number of these Fables, what that Historian has said of the Manner in which Alexander received Jaddua; as the late Learned Dr. Hudson particularly observed, in a short Note which he made upon that Passage of Fosephus.

He is of opinion, nevertheless, that Justin, in the 9th Chapter of his XIth Book, has an Allusion to this Story in the following Words: Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvios, cum infulis, multos Orientis Reges habuit: He then marched into Syria, where he was met by many Eastern Princes, with Mitres on their Heads. But then Jaddua was no King of the Jews. It is likewise observed

<sup>\*</sup> Chap. X. of Van Dale's Differtation on Aristeas, concerning the Seventy Interpreters, printed in 4to. M.DCC.V.

by Josephus, that the Kings of Syria also came about Alexander. But these Kings feem more probably to have been the Satrape, or Great Commanding Officers, than real Kings; for Syria had been for a considerable Time under the Jurisdiction of Persia. What the Latins understand by Infula, was an Ornament worn by fuch as furrendred themselves, and asked Quarter, or fued for Favour; as the Commentators on Justin have explained it. But Jaddua, according to Josephus, appeared in his Sacerdotal Vestments, and adorned with his Tiara, in the Front whereof was inscribed, Holiness to the Creator; a sufficient Testimony that he was confecrated to God.

Under the Year 330, Mr. Driebergh very happily discovers the proper Name of the Metropolis of Persia, not to have been Persepolis, which is of Greek Derivation, but Tierral, as he proves by a number of Authorities. I conjectured in the 4th Impression of my Criticisms, published in MDCCXII †, that the true Name of this City was Fars-abad, or Parsabad, according to Monsieur Chardin; because these Words in the Persian Language signify the Habitation of the Persians: and it might very well happen,

<sup>†</sup> Written against Dr. Bentley.

that, by Contraction, the Greeks supplied it with the Word Persai, without adding the last Word; because the Persians themselves call'd it Fars, or Pars, a Word that signifies the Nation or Country of the Persians. He afterwards proves that Quintus Curtius was much in the wrong for saying, that Alexander burnt that City, and that it was only the Palace of the Persian Kings which he so destroy'd, as Strabo and Arrian affirm; as likewise that it is evident that this City was in Being, even after the Death of Alexander. Which last Remark of this Author well deserves our strictest Attention.

Under the Three Hundredth Year before Christ, we find a Remark upon the Changes that Alexander's Conquests in Asia caus'd there, with regard to the Cities that the Macedonians built there, in divers Provinces, and to the Religion and the Greeks, which they introduced in those Parts. Hence it is, that we find to this day Inscriptions in Greek of very great Antiquity, in those Countries where the Greek Tongue was never in Use among the Inhabitants.

Under the Year 293, there is likewise a Remark which relates to that Passage, where Mr. Driebergh shews that Seleucia, built on the Tigris by Seleucus Nicator, was one of the Causes of the Decay and

Ruin

Ruin of Old Babylon. But he makes it appear, that Babylon was not, in a short Time afterwards, † " exhausted of its "Inhabitants, and brought to Defolation " by the Neighbourhood of Seleucia, " on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator " built there on purpose for this End," as Dr. Prideaux feems to believe: But that 350 Years interven'd, before the Spot, on which that City was built, became entirely desolate. This he demonstrates to be true from Diodorus Siculus, Maximus Tyrius, and Lucian. Prophet Isaiab has indeed foretold the Destruction of Babylon, as if it was to have happened on the Instant, and have been as totally destroy'd as it really afterwards was, and to this day is. But we are not to take the Threats of that Prophet, in such Sense, as if that extreme Desolation was to have been accomplished in a very short Period of Time. The Destruction of this famous City began under the Government of the Persians, but it was still in Being under the Seleucidæ, till the Time that it was as abfolutely demolish'd, as it is at this Hour. Predictions of Prophets are not to be regarded as Chronological Histories of what shall happen, in which the Detail

of every Circumstance is to be found, according to its Order in Time, and the immediate Succession and Connection of all its Parts. For want of considering this Point rightly, the Words of the Prophets have been often erroneously explain'd. Some Remarks are likewise to be made in Dr. Prideaux's remaining Books, as of Babylon and Seleucia existing at One and the same Time; upon which Subject I shall here make no Stop or Hesistation.

The END of the FIRST PART.



tor tha

fhe

his

NEC



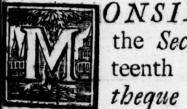
A

## Critical Examination

OF

Dean Prideaux's Connection, &c.

## PART II.



onsieur Le Clerc, in the Second Part of the Nine-teenth Volume of his Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne,

tor the Year 1723, gives us an Account that Monsieur Driehergue has Published at Leyden, the Second Volume of his Translation of Dean Prideaux's Connection, &c.

K

From

From whence, fays Monfieur Le Clerc, we shall give some farther Examples of that Gentleman's Notes upon this Work.

I. Under the Year Two Hundred Eighty Six, before the Birth of Christ, Monsieur Driebergue gives an Account of the Foundation of the Temple of Hierapolis which

was Built by STRATONICE.

This History is taken out of the Tract of the Syrian Goddess, which is to be found among the Works of Lucian. \* The real Name of this Goddess was never known, notwithstanding her Temple soon became one of the most famous and most frequented Temples of the whole East. It must, by no Means, be consounded with that of Heliopolis, as Monsieur de la Roque † has very plainly demonstrated.

Lucian in that Tract of the Syrian God-DESS, acknowledges, that he is wholly ignorant which of the Grecian Divinities The was. 

As all that was faid of those

Deities,

1

t

n

t

0

1

CC

"

4

"

..

"

"

« .

"

de

tic

<sup>\*</sup> This Piece, Of the Syrian Goddess: Being an Account of the Temple, and Religious Ceremonies of the City of Hierapolis in Syria. Is excellently Translated by Charles Blount, Esq; in the English Version of Lucian's Works, by several Hands, in four Vol. 8vo. See Vol I. page 241.

† See, Voyage de Syrie. Printed at Paris 1722.

There is a wonderful Story related by those of "Hierapolis, How that in their Country, there was a great Pit made, which received all the Water; where-

Deities, was, generally speaking, no other than Fables and Inventions of Poets, or the knavish Tricks of their Priests, it must be wondered at if they could not bring their several respective Ideas to a Reconciliation.

ır

of

d

er

n

oft A.

ed

la

D-

es

se

es,

an

ies

tly

lifb

our

of

s a

er;

re-

tico.

II. Under the Year Two Hundred Eighty Four, before Christ, Dean Pridedux gives the following Account by what means Ptolomy Philadelphus, obtained the Statue of Sarapis, or Serapis of the Sinopians, (upon the Pontus-Euxinus, or Black-Sea) and caused it to be set up in Alexandria in Egypt.

"† While Ptolemy the first of that Name that Reigned in Egypt, was busying him-

de Iside & Osoride. Clemens Alexandrinus in Protrep-

<sup>&</sup>quot;whereupon Deucalion erected Altars, and built a "Temple over-against the same Pit, in Honour of "Juno: But others again fay, that SEMIRAMIS " of Babylon erected this Temple to her Mother "DERCETO. There is also another Sacred Story, "That the Goddess is RHEA, and the Temple the "Work of ATTIS: But that which best Satisfies me, " fays Lucian, is the Relation of the Greeks, who "think the Goddess to be Juno, and the Temple the "Work of BACCHUS. But it is related, That the "First and most ancient Temple, is not the same " with that which is there at present; but that the " present Temple was Built, pursuant to the Com-" mand of Juno to her in a Dream, by STRATONICE "Wife to the King of Affyria, with whom her Son "in Law fell in Love. See Lucian. † Tacitus Histor. lib. 4. cap. 83, 84. Plutarchus

5

Ç

"

Ç

6

Ç

6

Ç

ç

6

(

(

" felf in fortifying Alexandria with its " Walls, and adorning it with Temples, and other publick Buildings, there appeared to him in a Vision of the Night, a young Man of great Beauty, and more "than an human Shape; and Commanded " him to fend to Pontus, and fetch from " thence his Image to Alexandria, promising him, that his doing this, should make that City famous and happy, and bring great Prosperity to his whole Kingdom, and then, on his faying this, afcended up into Heaven in a bright flame of Fire out of his Sight. Ptolemy being much troubled hereat, called together the Egyptian Priests to advise with "them about it; but they being wholly Ignorant of Pontus, and all other Foreign Countries, could give him no anfwer concerning this Matter; whereon confulting one Timotheus an Athenian then at Alexandria, he learnt from him, that in Pontus there was a City called Sinope, not far from which was a Temple of Jupiter, which had his Image in it, with another Image of a Woman, standing by it, that was taken to be Proferpina. But after a while, other Matters putting this out of Ptolemy's Head, fo that he thought no more of it, the Vision appeared to him again in a more ter-" rible Manner, and threatned Destruction " to ts

s,

)-

t,

9

d

m

04 d

d

6

10

e-

th

y.

7

17

n

172

n,

d

le

t,

1-

r-

rs

0

i-

r-

n

to

" to him and his Kingdom, if his Com-" mands were not obeyed; with which " Ptolemy being much terrified, immediate-" ly fent away Ambassadors to the King " of Sinope to obtain the Image. They " being ordered in their way to confult " Apollo at Delphos, were Commanded " by him to bring away the Image of his "Father, but to leave that of his Sister. " Whereon they proceeded to Sinope, there " to Execute their Commission in the Man-" ner as directed by the Oracle, But nei-" ther they with all their Sollicitations, "Gifts, and Presents; nor other Ambassadors, that were fent after them with greater Gifts, could obtain what they were fent thither for, till this last Year. " But then the People of Sinope being Grievoully oppressed by a Famine, were content on Ptolemy's relieving them with a Fleet of Corn, to part with their God for it, which they could not be induced to do before. And fo the Image was " brought to Alexandria, and there fet up in one of the Suburbs of that City called " Rhacotis, where it was Worshipped by " the Name of Serapis, and this new God had in that Place, a while after, a very " famous Temple erected to him called the Serepeum. And this was the first time, that this Deity was either Worshipped or known in Egypt; and therefore it

could

fi

P

1

b

t

t

f

f

u

d

t

a

to

C

"

"

"

could not be the Patriarch Foleph, that " was Worshipped by this Name, as " fome would have it. For had it been he, that was meant thereby, this Piece of Idolatry must have been much more " Ancienter among them; and must also " have had its Original in Egypt it felf, " and not been introduced thither from a " Foreign Country. Some of the Ancients " indeed had this Conceit, as \* Julius " Firmicus, † Ruffinus and others, but " all the Reason they give for it is, that " Serapis was usually Represented by an " Image with a Bushel on its Head, which "they think denoted the Bushel where-" with Foseph Measured out to the Egyptians his Corn in the time of Famine, whereas it might as well denote the "Bushel with which Ptolemy measured out to the People of Sinope the Corn, with which he Purchased this God of " them. § Upon this Passage Mr. Driebergue Remarks, That there is abundance of Pro-

bability, that Ptolemy gave an Ægyptian Name to an Asian Divinity, which in Asia went under another Denomination, this he did

2. Part 1. 8vo. page 11, 12.

<sup>\*</sup> In Libro de Errore Prophanarum Religionum. † Histor. lib. 2. cap. 23. See Connection Vol.

did purely to humour the Ægyptians. He suspects this Deity to have been Æsculapius, who was the God of Physick, and Sarapis was the same among the Ægyptians. But it seems still more probable, that Sarapis was an ancient Ægyptian Divinity, as Gerrard John Vossius believed him to be, and has even proved, in Contradiction to Joseph Scaliger, in his First Book of

the Pagan Theology, Chap. XXIX.

i

S

5

t

t

ń

h

e

d

e

n

a

e

đ

1.

The Name of this Deity signifies Dominus Bos, in Hebrew Shaar Abir; for Apis and Sarapis was but one and the same God, and Apis is always represented under the Figure of a Calf. Those who deduce this Name from the Greek Word which signifies a Bier or Coffin, and the Name Apis, as Dean Prideaux does, are not very happy at Etymologizing, nor can they ever produce proper Names, half Agyptian and half Greek. It was a Divinity of the ancient Agyptians, whatever Tacitus and his Followers may have said to the contrary.

But notwithstanding Dean Prideaux says, "It's certain Serapis was not Ori"ginally an Ægyptian Deity anciently

"Worshipped in that Country, but was an adventitious God brought thither from

" abroad about the Time which we now

"Treat of. The Dean adds, that the an"cient Place of his Station Polybius tells

us (lib. 4. p. 307.) was on the Coast of "the Propontis on the Thracian fide over-against Hierus, and that their Fa-" fon, when he went on the Argonautick " Expedition Sacrificed unto him." Yet, in my Opinion, Mr. Driebergue is also very much in the Right, in faying, That a certain Temple in Thrace, which was called Serapeion, because it was Confecrated to the God Serapis, could, by no Means, have been fo Named from the Time of Fason, and that that Hero did not Sacrifice to that Deity, as is pretended to be prov'd from a Passage of Polybius, who fays no fuch Thing, but only, That Fason offered up a Sacrifice to the Twelve Gods in a certain Place upon the Asian Coast, opposite to the Serapeion of Thrace; which he mentions purely to mark the Situation of the Spot of Ground where he made his Sacrifice, as M. Driebergue very clearly Demonstrates. Agyptian Divinities, in those remote Ages, were intirely unknown out of Ægypt.

u

ra

at

ni

re

W

S

a

a

I

ir

10

j

0

t

t

f

t

t

8

He farther observes, and with abundance of Reason, That, in the Time of Alexander the Great, there could not possibly have been a Serapeion at Babylon, not withstanding Plutarch and Arrian have affirmed it, as having Read in the Ephemerides of the Reign of that Monarch, That, "When he lay Sick in that City, some

of his Friends went to pass the Night in the Serapeion, to make a Tryal whether or no Serapis would not reveal to them some Remedy for the Cure of

their Sovereign."

of

de

a-

ck

et,

fo

at

as

1-

y

n

O

S

f

t

0

1

These Ephemerides Mr. Driebergue inspects to have been False and Imaginary, or, at least, Corrupted by some Body. ather believe, That there was a Temple at Babylon, Consecrated to some Babylonian Deity; which was called by a different Name, but, that the Macedonians wrongly imagin'd it to be the same with Serapis, because it was put to the same Use, and, as they supposed, had the same Virtues as this Serapis had among the Agyptians: It was after this Manner that the Greeks interpreted the Name of Belus, a Babylonian Divinity, by the Word Zeus, or This Temple at Babylon was Jupiter. only call'd Serapeion, in Consequence to the Macedonian Interpretation; Interpretatione Macedonica. So it is that Tacitus fays, That the ancient Sueves made Mention of Caftor and Pollux, according to the Roman Interpretation; in his Book de Moribus Germanorum, Chap. xlili: So that it is no wife Necessary to exclaim, against the Falsity of the Ephemerides of Alexander.

Serapis was an ancient Deity of the Egyptians, and known there long be-

CC

66

li

V

"

60

50

6

61

fore the Time of Alexander the Great, whatever the Opinion of Tacitus might be. If it was true that Ptolomy caus'd the Statue of a God to be Transported from Sinope to Agypt, and that he gave it the Name of Serapis, this must likewise be only, Interpretatione Agyptia: But this History of Tacitus is no other than a mere Romantick Fiction, as every one that has Read it, must needs acknowledge.

III. Under the Year One Hundred Sixty Four, before the Birth of Christ, Dean Prideaux says, "That the City of Elymais in Persia was greatly renowned

" for its Riches both of Gold and Silver,

and that there was in it a TEMPLE of

Mr. Driebergue believes, that Helam, which the Greeks have Translated Elymais, was the Name of a Country and not of a City, and he is in the Right. Perhaps, among the Persians, this Province was call'd Elyma, whereof the Greeks have form'd Elymais, purely to give a Greek Termination to that Barbarous Word. I believe, also, that, in Stephanus Byzantimus, we ought to Read, not Elymai; but Elymais, a Province of the Assyrians, Bordering

<sup>-0# 1</sup> Maccab. vi. 1, 2. &c.
of See, Connection, Vol. 11. Part 1. 8vo. pag.
200. B. 111.

" Bordering upon Persia, and not far from "Susiana. The Inhabitants are call'd Elymeans." And after this Manner, likewise, Thebais is the Name of a Province, or Country, in the Higher Ægypt.

at,

oe. a-

pe

ne

n-

ry

0-1

as

y

in

**)**d

r

f

†

1,

3

a

IV. Under the Year One Hundred Thirty Nine, before the Birth of Christ, Dean Prideaux fays, " That Simon being infta-" led in the Soveraign Command of Fudea, by the general Confent of all that " Nation, thought it would be of great "Advantage to him for his firmer E-" stablishment in it, to get himself acknow-" ledged, what they had made him, by " the Romans, and to have all their former Leagues and Alliances renewed " with him under the Stile and Title, " which he then bore of High-Priest and " Prince of the Jews. And \* therefore " he fent an Embassy to them for this

"Purpose, with a Present of a large

" Shield of Gold, weighing a Thousand

Mine, which according to the lowest Computation of an Attic Mina amoun-

ted to the Value of Fifty Thousand

Pound of our present Sterling Money.

" Both the Present, and the Embassy, were " very acceptable to the Senate, and there-

" fore they not only renewed their League

L 2 and

<sup>\* 1</sup> Maccab. xiv. 24. and Chap. xv. 25.

se and Alliance with Simon and his People in the manner he defired, but also ordered, that Lucius Cornelius Piso one of the Confuls should write Letters to Ptolomy King of Egypt, Attalus King of Pergamus, Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, Demetrius King of Syria, and Mithridates King of Parthia, and to all the Cities and States of Greece, lesser Asia, and the Isles, that were then " in Alliance with them, to let them " know, that the Jews were their Friends " and Allies, and that therefore they should " not attempt any thing to their Damage, or Protect any Traytors or Fugitives of that Nation against them, but should de-" liver up to Simon the High-Priest, and " Prince of the Fews, all such Traytors " and Fugitives, as should flee unto them, whenever demanded by him." \*

Upon this Passage Mr. Driebergue very reasonably Conjectures, That the Fews demanded fuch Recommendatory Letters from the Romans, with no other View than to Establish a Commerce with the People there Spoken of. In Effect, the People of Delos, who are mentioned to have carried on a very confiderable Trade, as appears by Strate and Paufanias, whom Mr.

This

C

<sup>\*</sup> See, Connection, Vol. 2. Part 1. 8vo. p. 289. B. IV.

ple

or-

one

to

ing

ap-

za,

nd

ce,

en

m

ds

ld

e,

of

}-

d

rs

Driebergue quotes upon this Occasion. This still appears to this Day by some ancient Inscriptions, which Testify, that the Tyrians, who were in those Times the greatest Traders in the Mediterranean had there, as we fay in Holland, both Magazines and a Comptoir. This we may more particularly fee by a very remarkable Infcription given us by the late Dr. Spon, in his Miscellanea Erudita Antiquitatis, Sect. X. Numb, 70. Mr. Driebergue, likewise takes Notice of several other Decrees which the Romans made in Favour of the Fews, and of the Lenity with which they Suffer'd the publick Profession of the Fewish Religion; which Example he fays, the Fews would never have follow'd, had they had the fame Superiority over the Romans as the Romans had over them.

V. Under the Year One Hundred Thirty Six, before the Birth of Christ, Dean Prideaux says, "The Wars which sol-"lowed after the Death of Alexander armong those that Succeeded him, had in a manner extinguished Learning in all those Parts; and it would have gone nigh to have been utterly lost amidst the Carlamities of those Times, but that it found a Support under the Patronage of the

" Ptolomies at Alexandria." †

It

<sup>†</sup> See, Connection, Vol. 2. Part 1. 8vo. p. 294. B. IV.

cc

23

CC

cc

cc

CC

CC

"

"

"

"

"

"

-

(

It has been thought, that that Loss was occasion'd by the continual Wars, which the Successors of Alexander had between themselves, from the Time of his Decease: But Mr. Driebergue is not of that Opinion, He believes, that it proceeded from the Aversion the Philosophers of those Times (fuch as the Epicureans, and the Stoicks who despis'd all Eloquence) had for Learning and Sciences; and upon this Subject he refers his Readers to several Passages in the ancient Authors whom he quotes. He also, makes it appear, That the Kings of Agypt, being mighty Encouragers of all manner of elegant Literature, invited a great Number of the most learned and ingenious Men to Alexandria, and that in Process of Time, Learning and Sciences were Spread over all Greece and even in Italy, where the Romans began to have a Taffe for those Things.

VI. Under the same Year, One Hundred Thirty Six, before the Birth of Christ, Dean Prideaux says, "When the Prosperity of the Romans and the great

"Wealth obtained thereby, became the

"Occasion that they degenerated into "Luxury and Corruption of Manners,

" they drew Decay and Ruin as fast upon

"them; as they had before Victory and Prosperity, till at length they were undong

5

h

n

1,

undone by it. So that the Poet \* faid ignitive of them.

Lux'ry came on, more cruel than our Arms; The vanquist'd World revenging with its [Charms.

When the Ambassadors had taken a " full View of Alexandria, and the State " of Affairs in that City, † they Sailed up the Nile to see Memphis, and other " Parts of Egypt; whereby having tho-" roughly informed themselves of the § great Number of Cities, and the vast 33 " Multitude of Inhabitants that were in " that Country, and also of the Strength " of its Situation, the Fertility of its Soil, " and the many other Excellencies and Advantages of it, he observed it to be a " Country, that wanted nothing for its " being made a very potent and formida-" ble Kingdom, but a Prince of Capacity " and Application sufficient to form it " thereto. ‡

Diodorus

<sup>\* ---</sup> Sævior Armis Luxuria incubuit Victum; ulciscitur Orbem. Juv.

<sup>†</sup> Diodorus Sic. Legat. 32.
6 Egypt in the Trine of Ptolomy Philadelphus had in it 33, 339 Cities Theocrit. Flyl. 17. (The Works of Theocritus, are admirably Translated into English by Mr. Creech. Printed for E. Curll in the Strands 12mo.) ‡ See Connect. ut supra. p. 296. B. IV.

de

cł

A

te

of

W

th

SI

it

So

a

ar

fo

th

C

77

P

B

n

fi

n

0

0

0

I

Diodorus Siculus affirms, that there were but Three Thousand Cities in Egypt, which indeed, is much more probable. It is true that Sir John Marsham \* believes, that in Diodorus Siculus, instead of Three Thousand, we should read Thirty Thousand; but, in Effect, he contradicts that Historian; who does not pretend to say, that, in his Time, the Agyptian Nation was increased in Numbers, but rather diminish'd. It is not to be suppos'd, that the Inhabitants of a Country are continually increasing; so that we ought to Judge that, as the Time advances, humane Species are increasing throughout the Universe; if we imagine fo, we should find our selves grosly mistaken. For, in Effect, Pestilences, Epidemical Difeases, and Wars may destroy infinite Numbers of People, and the Tyranny of Sovereign Princes, may oblige the Inhabitants of a Country to abandon it, and to retire into another, where they think they can live unmolested, and free from Persecution.

VII. Under the Year One Hundred Twenty Four, before Christ, Mr. Driebergue plainly demonstrates, That, there is a great Appearance, that the Seven Persian Lords, who expell'd the Magi, divided,

<sup>\*</sup> Vide, Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, Fol.

ded, in some Measure, the Persian Monarchy among themselves. The Kings of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia pretended to claim their Descent from Three of those Lords. A Passage is to be met with in Plato, where he seems to intimate that each of those noble Personages had his Share in the Dividend: But not a Word of it is to be found in the Life of Darius the Son of Hystaspes, and in Essect, it must be acknowledged, that the ancient Historians

are very imperfect in this particular.\*

VIII. Under the Year Eighty Five, before Christ, Mr. Driebergue Remarks, that the Books of Aristotle, which were concealed in a Vault by his Executors, were to all Appearance, for Fear of those Princes, who were making Collections of Books to fill their Libraries, least they should force those valuable Manuscripts from them. Yet, never the more for that, must it be supposed that there were none of Ariftotle's Works common in the Hands of the Publick. It is not credible that none of his Disciples were possessed of his Exotericks (Lectures upon Rhetorick) which Work he Communicated to all without Referve.t

M

IX. Un-

<sup>\*</sup> See Connect. ut supra. p. 316. B. V.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. ut sup. p. 392. B. VI.

IX. Under the Year Eighty before Christ, contrary to the Sentiments of many Chronologists, it is affirmed, "That there was no King who Reigned in Egypt between Ptolemy Lathyrus, and Ptolomy Auletes:" This Particular ought to be very carefully looked into by the Dean, and examined, because two several Princes are supposed to have intervened.\*

X. Under the Year Sixty Five, before Christ, Dean Prideaux asserts, " That the latter Antiochus, King of Syria, Who was dethroned by Pompey, was, by no Means, the same who Reigned afterwards in Comagena, which Province Pompey left him, after he had despoiled him of all the rest of his Dominions. Learned are of a different Opinion; and Mr. Driebergue makes it appear, at least I think he does, that they are in the Right, and that the Kings of Comagena were descended from the antient Kings of Syria. †

XI. Under the Year Sixty Three, before Christ, the Dean gives an Account, that,

" affoon as the Romans had made them-" felves Masters of the Temple of Feru-

" falem, Pompey with several others of the chief Commanders of the Army ac-

" companying him went up into it, and not

(

CC

CC

CC

CC

CC CC

CC

"

F

Ju

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. ut sup. p. 396, B. Ibid.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. ut supra, p. 421. B. Ibid.

so not contenting themselves with viewing the outer Courts, \* caused the most sacred Parts of the Temple it felf to be 66 opened unto them, and entered not only " into the Holy Place, but also into the Holy of Holies, where none were permitted by their Leave to enter, but the High-Priest only once in a Year, on their great Day of Expiation; which was a CC " Profanation offered this Holy Place, and " the Religion, whereby God was there "Worshipped, which the Jews were ex-" ceedingly Grieved at, and most grie-" vously Resented beyond all else, that " they fuffered in this War. Hitherto " Pompey had found wonderful success in " all his undertakings, fays Dean Prideaux, " but in this Act it all ended. For hereby " having drawn God's Curse upon him, he " never Prospered after." This, over the Fews, was the last of his Victories. † Mr. Driebergue does not believe that

Mr. Driebergue does not believe that Pompey, by the Sight only of that Holy-Place could have incenfed the Supreme Divinity against him to so high a degree, M 2 fince,

f

1

<sup>\*</sup> Josephus. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. and De Bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 5. Lucius Florus. lib. 3. cap. 5. Tacitus Historiarum. lib. 5. cap. 9. Cicero in Oratione pro Flacco.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. ut Sup. p. 440. B. VI.

since, as the Dean acknowledges, tho' "he found in the Treasuries of the Temple

"Two Thousand Talents in Money, be-

" fides its Utenfils, and other things of a " great Value there laid up, yet he touch-

" ed nothing of all this, but left it all there

" entire for the facred Uses to which it was

" devoted, without the least diminution of

" any part.

Attempts upon the Privileges or Functions of the Priestbood something might have been objected against him. Had he Pillaged or Spoiled the Temple, he might then have been accused of the worst of Robberies, a detestable Sacrilege. Tho' he did not even attempt it. But on the contrary as the Dean owns, "the next Day after ordered the Temple to be cleansed, and the Divine Service to be there again car-

"ried on in the same manner as formerly. "However, adds Dean Prideaux this did

" not expiate for his Prophanation of God's

"Holy Temple, and the Impiety which

" he had made himself Guilty of there-

66 by." \*

But Mr. Driebergue makes it fully appear, that Pompey had sufficiently injur'd and

<sup>\*</sup> Sce, ut sup. p. 440. B. VI.

le

e-

a

1-

re

as of

y is e

n

d

y

and perfecuted the Jews in several other Respects, for which he might with much greater Reason, be censured, than for his having a Curiosity to see the most Sacred Part of the Temple, and wherein there was nothing at all.

The End of the Second Part.



this perfect the Jews in feveral permits of the control of the con

(iii) Grame /

## THE

## PUBLISHER

and were acht to byo the Mar Grame is

## READER

le troild, from the Eith

T is a common Word, that no wife Man will much wonder at what happens in this Iron Age; and especially among st us in the present State of Affairs. Tet, if I miftake not, the greatest Stock of Reason and Stoicism too, must be imploy'd, to guard one against the most sudden and unexpected Surprize, that can be form'd in the Heart of an Understanding Christian, from the Narrative I present my judicious and attentive Reader with, in the following Sheets; containing the Proceedings of a Famous Process commenc'd against the late Reverend and Learned Mr. James Grame, Episcopal Minister of the Gospel in Dunfermline, in the Shire of Fyfe, by a few Ignorant Bigots of the Parish; carried on by the Holy Party in Scotland, for a whole Twelve Month; and at last ended by their Venerable Synod, appointed on purpose to determine the Affair, in a Sentence A 2

Sentence of Deposition; the severest Censure their Kirk could inflict. And all this, without the least Golour of Reason or Equity, but the very reverse of both, as must infallibly appear, when the whole Scene of this Religious Tryal, or rather Ludicrous and Scandalous Quarrel and Transaction, is Impartially, and without Prejudice weigh'd and consider'd. Then it is, that every Understanding Reader will, I believe, and must acknowledge, that Mr. Grame is the first Clergyman, that ever was Impeach'd, Condemn'd or Punish'd, by any Christian or Reform'd Church, or even Secular Tribunal professing Christianity throughout the whole World, from the Birth of our Lord to this Day, for baving Advanced and Maintain'd, Defended and Promoted Two of the Great and Capital Truths of the Gospel, and the unquestionable Doctrine and Tenor thereof; and without which all Religion may as well be abolish'd, and the very Basis of true Christianity destroy'd and blown up, viz. Because be applied to bis Hearers what St. Paul faid to the Corinthians, Ye are bought with a Price; \* and affirm'd, That Christ dy'd for all and every one of them, and that the · see the Reason why all are not sav'd, is because they do

See the Reason why all are not sav'd, is because they do Sppinsix, seed. 1. not sulfill the Condition. Mr. Grame's Preaching Art. 5 and this Doctrine, was reckon'd grossy Erroneous, and Pag. 87. Rank Heresy, as well as that other constantly taught, free Appinsix, inculcated, and insisted upon by him, viz. 7 Of the Sect. 10. Necessity of a Holy Life, as a Condition of Salethe Revisal, vation, and that Faith alone without good Works, Pag. 133.

cou'd never obtain it. Thefe Christian Doctrines, were the Dangerous Errors and other Miscarriages, of which he was accused, and for which he was for restlesty and severely persecuted and pursued, (tho' feveral other Articles were exhibited against him, but they prov'd altogether False, or very Trifling, as will appear by this Tryal See Pag. 155.) and for which at last, be was solemnly, and after the most publick manner Depos'd and Degraded: For, nothing else was, or could be made out against Him, and to These be joyfully pleaded Guilty. And are such Flagrant Instances, of the Dreadful Tenets held and taught by Presbyterians, that no wife Man can much wonder, if the Dissolute and Immoral Lives and Practifes of the se who Teach them, and of their blind Followers, be the Result and Fruit of such horrid Principles.

The Death of that most excellent Person, the Author of, and Desendant in this Religious Law Suit, so much regretted by the Learned, the moderate and wiser Part of his Country, occasion'd the transmitting of his Papers to me. And in Justice to the Memory of this Great, yet Obsture Man, whose Temper, Inclination, and the healing Maxims, by which he walk'd, were not to squabble and justle with his Brethren; but whose Ardent Love and Affection for Peace, and the least Colour of Order, constantly determin'd him to Patience, Resignation, Silence, and Contentedness with his Lot, and also as a Pledge or Specimen of the rest of his Pious and Learned Writings, as well as for the common Bene-

ev

fit of sincere Christians; I have, I say, for these Reasons, adventured to publish this Tryal or Process in the Author's own Words, without diminishing one of them, or adding one of my own.

But when the Posthumous Works of a learned Man, more particularly a Divine, are to be commumeated to the World, a just Encomium of the Author, is generally expected from the Publisher; And then, as a fix'd Rule, strictly observed, that the Publick Good, and Peace of the Church be inviolably confulted. Now as the Performance of the First, far exceeds my little Skill and Ability, fo I hope I bave contented my Judicious and Learned Reader, in this Point, by publishing the Defendants Plea, in his own Words, as the best and justest Panegyrick upon its Author. And as to the publick Good and Peace of the Church, what more likely Means to procure them, than to make the Nation, and particularly the Clergy, sensible, that the True Interest of the Church cannever be fecur'd, nor Concord and Brotherly Kindness (without which no Society can be happy) maintain'd and promoted, while there's Party against Party, and the Dominant Seeks by all imaginable Arts to Difgrace and Ruin fach as are not of their Side, or who differ from them in Opinion; the otherwise, never fo Blameless in their Lives, Useful in their Stations, Moderate in their Principles, Zealous for Reformation of Manners, Lovers of their Country, and Hearty Friends to all Good and Sober Men. this Divine Temper of Spirit, I perswade my self ev'ry ev'ry impartial and intelligent Reader, will find Breathing throughout the following Pages; and such were the Motives and Ends, that first induc'd our Author to put Pen to Paper in his own just Defence, tho' a Modesty that was natural to him, hindred his publishing those excellent Pieces during his Life.

The first of which is called, The State of the Process, &c. And, as appears by the Title, was prepar'd and design'd for the General Assembly that met at Edinburgh March 1702, to which the Desendant had Appeal'd. And it had certainly been then Presented, if fatal News from Court had not occasion'd King William's Death their hasty and precipitate Dissolution. But now, the Form be out of Date, yet the Substance of that Paper is still very proper, for acquaining you with the Nature and State of this more than strange and unaccountable Process.

The next Paper bears for The, A Revisal of the Minutes, &cc. (which, together with The State of the Process just mention'd, maketh the first Part of Mr. Grames's Tryal) and doth in a manner Anatomize and Discuss what was transacted at the Synod pro re Nata, as they term'd it, at Coupar. The Author purpos d likewise to have laid it before the same General Assembly March 1702. And when he saw that his Assar could not be Canvass'd by that Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, He resolv'd to Present both The State of the Process, and the Revisal, &cc. to their Delegates, or, as they call them The Commission of the Kirk. But the State of his Health ha-

A 4

alfo

ceedi

of th

N

to fo

ract

vit .

befo

AEL

pro

Con

Gen

it's

and

M

byt

w

ty

Ty

of

ch

G

fa

te

or

di

by

wing disabled him from attending that Court at their Quarterly meeting in June 1702, He sent his Son with a Letter to their President, (or in their Style Moderator) wherein he requested, That his Absence occasion'd by a threatning Distemper, might put no stop to the Commissions Proceeding to determine, and pass their final Verdict on his Appeal, depending hefore them, and at the same time, sent the Papers relating to the whole Process. Thus much then will suffice with Relation to the Contents of this sirst Part, and hope the Author's Method is explain'd clearly and plainly enough.

The Second Part of this Tryal is an Appendix to the First, containing several Authentick and Curious Pieces referr'd to in the Course of the Process, and mark'd or distinguish'd in the Margent; which to avoid Confusion and Prolixity, I have digested in the Order they are now in.

The Third and last Part is call'd, The Conduct of the Commission of the Kirk towards Mr. James Grame represented: For tho' the Author bad appeal'd to the General Assembly, that was to meet at Edinburgh March 1702, as has already been said, and as appears by Page 149. of this First Part, yet that Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, which had readily receiv'd the Appeal, still thought not sit to decide, or otherways, to determine the Assair, but referr'd it wholly to their Delegates, or in their Diralect, the Commission of the Kirk; in Justice therefore to the said Commission, the Author bath

also taken care to set forth their Conduct and Proceedings in his Affair, together with the final Verdict

of that Court upon it.

Now in all Three together, I may boldly venture to say, ev'ry one may read a just but imperfect Character of the violent Domineering and Persecuting Spivit which reign'd in most of the Presbyterian Courts, before which our Author appear'd. For I suppose the Ast or Deed of the Provincial Synod at Coupar, pro re nata, is really, or in common and reasonable Construction, deem'd to be, the Act or Deed of the General Affembly, with whose Power and Authority it's probable they were invested, as to certain Effects and Affairs. And this once granted, it's Evident that Mr. Grame food then Condemn'd by the whole Presbyterian Party in that Kingdom; and consequently whatever Weakness or Ignorance, whatever Iniquity or Partiality, whatever Pride or Bigottry, whatever Selfishness or Arrogance, whatever Violence or Tyranny, and in short, whatever wresting the Word of God, or Blasphemy has been, or may justly be tharg'd upon the Synod, must needs, whether Mr. Grame would or not, and in spite of all his Charity. fall flat and beavy upon the whole Covenanted Fraternity, excepting those who had the Sense, Courage, or Conscience (if any such there were) to disown and disavous suhat had been determin'd and concluded by the Synod.

over

arb

Spa

bing

w

ativ

16

nt of

Fall

lves

icate

ften.

dia

pitel

me a

liya

ten 7

one

ror

and !

iarsh hould

Jum

inted

vbat

nterp

Bu

Colour

Offence has been taken, as I have been inform'd, at some Expressions in the Author's Defences, as too Tart and Severe, and utterly opposite to the Meekness and Charity which the Gospel enjoyns. But if it were true that in some places his Stile were too sharp and edged, I do not fee there could be any just Ground to wonder or complain: Whose Indignation, would not the Usage be has met withal, have moved and in flam'd against a Set of Men, who pretend the great est tenderness of Conscience, and affect to be reputed the most Religious of all others, and yet make no Benes of it, to commit those Pranks, which an Honest understanding Turk or Pagan would blush at and abbor? But indeed the Author's handling the Matter, is So far from being contrary to the Temper and Spirit of the Gospel, that I take it to be the genuine Fruit and Effect thereof. Doth he not all along testify his Respect and Affection for the Brethren ! Is it not wisible, bis Aim was not to Provoke or Affront, but Awaken and Reclaim them? What bath he said but Truth? And doth not Christian Charity, as well as his own just Defence, oblige bim to fay so much for their Interest, and that of others, as well as his own? Is there any Injury done them by so necessary and just a Freedom? The Heathen Philosopher could say, What wrong hast thou receiv'd from me, who have done no more than a Look ing-Glass doth to the Deform'd, having shew'd thee to thy felf fuch as thou art ? Is a Physician thought to Disgrace one, whose Discase he discovers

Arrian
Epic, 1. 2.

0

A

4

1

.

d

9

-

ZŽ.

96

ex

14

18 3

07

at

M

178

75,

by

21-

ď

k.

ď

if-

overs to him? And pray, bow could the Matter wherwise treated ? What doth the Author but call Spade, a Spade, as he bimfelf faith? Must not bard hings be exprest by Hard, that is, proper Names ? will the Brethren claim it as a Property or Preroarive of the Kirk, that they may do what they lift, mineer Infolently, Attack, Bespatter, Defame of Condemn Innocent Men, merely because they are nt of their Gang and Cabal; and then Brand it as full and Bitterness, when the Injur'd and Opprest duenture Resolutely and Boldly to Defend and Vinwate themselves, against the most Unjust and Tymmical Proceedings ? Besides, the Author bath fin declar'd and protested, that his Words were the Water of bis Judgment, and not of any Angry or purful Resentment: And I am perswaded, that me who will make themselves acquainted with this lival, can doubt of his Sincerity. So that had be un mistaken in bis Measures, he may well have said one did in a like Case, That it was but a pure fror of his Mind, not any Vice of his Will. had may not One then with Reason, expett that his larsh or Unadwised Words (if any such there are) hould not be look'd on as Crimes, but overlook'd as luman Frailties: And that the Truth be has repremed, should rather be Calmly consider d, than in that Manner it is exprest, in vidiously construid and sterpresed? an

But now, not to Diffemble, there's much more olour for the Complaint of many others, who Tax

Offence has been taken, as I have been inform'd, at some Expressions in the Author's Defences, as too Tart and Severe, and utterly opposite to the Meekness and Charity which the Gospel enjoyns. But if it were true that in some places bis Stile were too sharp and edged, I do not see there could be any just Ground to wonder or complain: Whose Indignation, would not the Usage he has met withal, have mov'd and inflam'd against a Set of Men, who pretend the greatest tenderness of Conscience, and affect to be reputed the most Religious of all others, and yet make no Bones of it, to commit those Pranks, which an Honest understanding Turk or Pagan would blush at and abbor? But indeed the Author's handling the Matter, is so far from being contrary to the Temper and Spirit of the Gospel, that I take it to be the genuine Fruit and Effect thereof. Doth he not all along testify his Respect and Affection for the Brethren? Is it not visible, bis Aim was not to Provoke or Affront, but Awaken and Reclaim them? What bath be said but Truth? And doth not Christian Charity, as well as his own just Defence, oblige bim to Say So much for their Interest, and that of others, as well as his own? Is there any Injury done them by so necessary and just a Freedom? The Heathen Philosopher could say, What wrong hast thou receiv'd from me, who have done no more than a Looking-Glass doth to the Deform'd, having shew'd thee to thy self such as thou art ? Is a Physician thought to Disgrace one, whose Disease he dis-

Arrian Epic, 1. 2. C. 14.

covers

overs

othe

Space

bings

ועו ו

ative

Domin

nd C

nt of

vall:

lven

licate

mnic

ften d

Dist at

pitefi

me 22

Iryal

ten m

one

rror

and 7

far h

hould

Huma

inted.

vbat

nterpr

But

Colour

1

d

t

e

\*

5

#

7

4

y.

И

d

d

n

overs to him? And pray, bow could the Matter wherwise treated ? What doth the Author but call Spade, a Spade, as be bimfelf faith? Must not bard hings be exprest by Hard, that is, proper Names? will the Brethren claim it as a Property or Preroative of the Kirk, that they may do what they lift, Domineer Infolently, Attack, Bespatter, Defame ad Condemn Innocent Men, merely because they are nt of their Gang and Cabal; and then Brand it as fall and Bitterness, when the Injur'd and Opprest elventure Resolutely and Boldly to Defend and Vinwate themselves, against the most Unjust and Tymical Proceedings ? Besides, the Author bath fun declar'd and protested, that his Words were the litates of bis Judgment, and not of any Angry or iteful Resentment: And I am perswaded, that me who will make themselves acquainted with this Iryal, can doubt of his Sincerity. So that had be un mistaken in bis Measures, be may well have said one did in a like Case, That it was but a pure tror of his Mind, not any Vice of his Will. and may not One then with Reason, expect that his insh or Unadvised Words (if any such there are) hould not be look'd on as Crimes, but overlook'd as luman Frailties: And that the Truth be has repremed, should rather be Calmly consider'd, than in that Manner it is exprest, invidiously construid and nterpreted?

But now, not to Diffemble, there's much more solver for the Complaint of many others, who Tax

Presby

gain

orm o

יעניוני

f Er

bor r

Zeald

ibeir come

must

(ucb

Conf

eithe

00 0

befor

We

Fait

lege.

my o

that

Zea

well

Year

from

and

Sul

mu

nal

Pb

of

Pres

the Author, for sparing the Brethren, and treating them in too foft and mild a Strain, and that about Some Important Points, where be ought more keenly to have pursu'd and expos'd them. And that this may not seem a mere groundless Surmise, I shall brim

some particular Instances.

Bretbren, but with a fondness for it: Whereas h might and ought roundly to have told them, that the and their Party make it no better than an Idol; a the Westminster Divines had the Impudence to affirm

In the matter of the Confession, be charges the

Pref m the Direct.

That many Ignorant and Superstitious People made the English Liturgy. Then be fays in ven smooth Terms, that so far as be knows, their Confession, was never printed with the Body of Pro testant Confessions, and consequently but little value by other reform'd Churches. But why was it conceald that the Two Houses of Parliament, had no Author rity to call an Affembly, that the Westminster Men ing was a Schismatical Synod, and that when som endeavour'd at the Reprinting of the Harmony Confessions in Geneva, to bave the XXXIX Article of the Church of England expung'd, and the West minster Confession substituted in their Room, while the Usurper and Rebels seem'd to be deeply rooted and firmly settled in their Power and Grandure, th Motion was rejected by the Senate, the Church, an University of that Famous City? And from bench we have by the Way, a Demonstration, that Geneval self is no Enemy to the English Hierarchy, which ou

resbyterian-Brain-sick Bigots Rail at and Exclaim gainst, contrary to the Sense of all the Foreign Rewild Churches, as a Limb of Anti-christ, a nown Epithet of theirs for the Establish'd Church England: And further, why has not the Aufor remark d, for shewing how madly their Fanatick Zealots dote upon their Confession, that by an Act of their late General Assembly, the Reception of any that Feb. 1700. come from Popery to the Communion of their Church, mif be the Deed of a Church Judicatory; and that such Converts must subscribe the Confession, as the Confession of their Faith? So that every one, and of either Sex, who is dispos'd to renounce the Communim of the Church of Rome, must come and appear before their Church Judicature, and subscribe the Westminster Confession, as the Confession of their Faith, before they can be admitted to Church Privileges. Tho' they wou'd subscribe the whole Harmomy of Confessions, that's nothing: They can't for all that be reputed found Protestants among st their Holy Zealots, and Profound Orthodox Rabbies. It was well that by an Act of the Scots Parliament half a Year after that Assembly, any Person might be purg'd from Popery, on more easy and reasonable Terms, and enjoy the Rights and Liberties of a Christian Subject. And then, I presume no wise Man would much regard the Privilege of their Kirk. nally, why has be omitted another Proof of their Phrentick Bigottry in this Point, viz. That by an Act of the same Assembly, all Ruling Elders, Schoolmafters,

n

70

bo

eer

om

cla

eft

bil

tea

th

an

enc

72 4

04

ref

mafters, &c. are to subscribe the Confession as il Confession of their Faith? What Blindness! What Infatuation! What Tyranny! Poor filly Ignoran Tradesmen, &c. who know so very little of the common Principles of Religion, must without Sense without Light, and in spite of Conscience, Subscrib and profess to believe what, peradventure they new once thought upon, can't read, never so much a beard, and are utterly uncapable to understand. This this is the Presbyterian Orthodoxy, this is the ven Soul and Power of their Religion, and this is the great Glory of their so much admir'd and magnify Reformation. And from bence, I fear, it will be concluded, to make a just Parallel, that the Presby terian Clergy, are as Fond of, as Bigotted to, an with as much Violence and Absolute Power, a want of Christian Charity and Moderation, Impos on the Consciences of all under their Jurisdiction, the Westminster Confession, as the only True and Infah lible Standard of Faith, as the present Pope dots, or can possibly inforce the Acceptance of bis Constitution or Bull Unigenitus, on the Gailican Church, and others owning his Anti-christian Authority.

Thus their Confession is equalized, if not preferr'd to the Bible it self: For in what higher of
fuller Terms, can a Man be required to subscribe
this, than they exact and command the Subscription
See the of that: \* Witness the Provincial Synod of Fyse in
Revisal,
p. 69. Art. 3. the present Case, which urg'd and requir'd our Author again and again, to subscribe the Westminster

Con-

Cor

Her

Do

desp

this

men

moli

all

Con

by t

Ha

ana

tifie

Scr

neg

18

azu

mit

17 1

ces,

of t

as

abli

are

WOU

The

raa

Ra

Ch

ofe

bis

er

by

the

obs,

fti-

cb,

76-

or

ibe

ion

111

111-

ter

n

Confession, as the Confession of his Faith, in all the Heads and Articles of it, and renounce all contrary Doctrines and Tenets. By such unwarrantable and despotick Methods, it unhappily comes to pass that as this their Human Composure, is Presid and Recommended vehemently, with Arbitrary Power, and in a most Tyrannical manner cramm'd down the Throats, of alfuch as are, or willingly would be affum'd into their Community, or the Body of their Kirk, and thereby unavoidably turn'd into an Engine of Contention, Hatred and Division, quite contrary to the Intention and Words of the Act of Parliament, which Ratifies it, so the Sacred Oracles of God, the Holy Scriptures, are not only almost quite laid aside and neglected in private Families, but also entirely abandon'd, and seldom or never Read in their Churches \* \* See Revit in direct Opposition to the Express Orders of their own Directory, and the constant Practice of the Primitive, and at present, of all the Reform'd Churches in the World. Now, whether such notorious Practices, do not altogether Border upon Romish Principles of the same Stamp, for which that Church hath been as often as justly twitted in the Teeth by some of the ablest and soundest Protestants Pens: Let those who are the best Friends to Presbytery judge, and endeavour to Rectify, if they will not continue to be Thought acting the Part of Jesuits under the Masquerade of a Cloak, or which is worse if possible, of Rank Infidels and declar d Rebels to Heaven and the Christian Religion.

But

But to return from this Digression, if it be one, the Author upbraids the Brethren for contravening the Acts of their own Kirk, and for taking singular Courses, without any Countenance from its Authority. And here be touches but very slightly an abuse, viz. The multiplying of Ministers at the Celebration of the Sacrament, contrary to an express Act of their The Procest-General Assembly. Whereas the wifer Presbyterians OIS. themselves do more fully Represent, and more severely Aggravate the Matter. For they inform us, that one Course taken by their Dissenting Brethren, to make and keep a Party and Faction, was their way of ce-

· Vide 2 true lebrating Communions. \* Albeit the General Af. Represent of the Rife and fembly in the Year 1644, (thefe are their own Prog. of the Pref. Divis. Words) did establish an Order for Uniformity, and church of preventing of Confusion in the celebration of the Lind. 1657. Sacrament, wherewith this whole Church then

rested well satisfy'd, yet since our Divisions, our Brethren have taken a new and irregular Method. To omit their way of admitting Persons who come from other Congregations, they do not now usually celebrate that Ordinance, but they have a great many Ministers (Six or Seven, or sometimes double that Number or more) gather'd toit, whose Congregations (most part) are lest destitute of Preaching that Day: Great Confluences from all the Country- are gather'd at them, and on every Day of their meeting (which are Saturday the Lord's Day, and Monday, and now the preceeding Thursday too) many of those Mini-

fters,

fters

that

their

iowi

or f

belic

Peo

The

the

and

m

wil

tere

211

and

fol

be

Im

ml

Le

N

070

Pr

Pa

U

20 t/ be

ar

y.

Zí

of

etr

MS

at.

ke.

e-

78

d

e

n

T

0

1

ES

d

fters do preach successively one after another: So that three or four, sometimes more, do preach at their Preparation, and as many the Monday foljowing: and on the Lord's Day, sometimes three or four do preach before they go to the Action, helides those who preach to the Multitude of People, which cannot be contain'd in the Church. These Practises as they are a clear Violation of the Order unanimously establish'd in this Church. and do occasion great Animosities and Alienations in simple People, against those Ministers, who will not imitate those irregular Courses, so uninterested Observers, do perceive a clear Design in all this, to fet up themselves, as the only Pious and Zealous People, worthy to be trusted and follow'd in our Publick Differences: Which if it be not an Injury to that Sacred Ordinance, and an Improving (which is a Bond of Unity and Communion) to be a Wedge to drive on and fix a Rent. Let the Judicious and Sober Judge. Thus far they: Now whether such, and the like Abuses and Disorders be redress'd, since the late establishment of Presbytery, I leave to the Consciences of their Pastors, and the Senses of their Laicks.

And further he Poses the Brethren, if they can wouch the Act of any Assembly, that discharges the Use of the Lord's Prayer, which is grown into a general Neglect, in publick and private amongst them. I am Consident there's no such Order extant. And I verily believe, as hard as their Foreheads

B

are, they will not dare to forbid it, tho' they do not scruple, or blush to Disuse it. But why did not the Author press them barder with the Authority of their own Directory, where we read these Words, Because the Prayer which Christ taught his Disci-P 31, 32. Edin 1645. ples, is not only a Pattern of Prayer, but it self a most comprehensive Form, we recommend it to be used in the Prayers of the Church. no Respect due to an Authority owned by themselves

Direct.

Church.

to be so grave, so great, and so venerable, as that of the Westminster Synod, and their General-Assembly at Edinburgh. No, none at all, further than it pleaseth the present Generation of Presbyterian Bigots, who, with as much Vanity and Pride, as Ignorance and Arrogance, fancy themselves more Orthodox, more Pure, more Wife, more Zealous, and understand the Doctrine and Laws of Christ better, than all who went before them in all Ages of the

And to give but one Instance more, amongst many that will occur in the perusal of this extraordinary Process, of the Author's too great Charity for, and unwillingness or backwardness to expose his injurious Brethren, it is to be observed, that he does but once or tovice at most, throughout the whole Tryal, barely mention the Synods solemn Prayer, immediately before the final Sentence of Deposition past upon him; and that only in his Revisal of the Synods Minutes, where indeed the thing could not be omitted. even then be touches that dismal Article with so much

Gen-

Gentle

firmly

cellent

the ft

Wills

those

thor

call E

this.

final

t.

ven

Lig

wet

wa

ter

and

Pa

an

th

ni

ce

to

P

8

p

(xix)

be

of

ds.

1-

it

15

es

1

1

Gentleness and Moderation, as if he had been firmly persivaded and fully convinc'd, that these Excellent Qualities and truly Christian Virtues, had the strongest and most effectual Ascendants over the Wills and Affections of Presbyterians, as well as over those of the rest of mankind. But leaving the Auther to his Error Charitatis, which he was wont to call Error Salutaris, I shall acquaint my Reader with this very remarkable Passage, and how the Synods

final Vote for Deposing him was usher'd in.

After the solemn Fashion of the Holy Tribe, Heaven must first of all be address'd to, and consulted for Light and Direction, to guide the Synod in so weighty and nice a Matter. This Divine Province was committed to a fierce and fiery Bigot, who (after the Synod, very wisely no doubt, bad call'd in and invited the Defendant, and the Gentlemen kis Parishioners, to be Witnesses of their unaffected Piety and Devotion) acted his Part Notably, and in a Methodical Study'd Harangue, Appealed to the Omniscient God, that they had proceeded with fincere upright Minds in that whole Affair, begging and even claiming the Grace of the Holy Spirit for determining them to Judge without Iniquity or Partiality, what was most for his Glory, the good of the Church, and the Interest of that poor Place (meaning the Parish of Dunfermline, of which the Defendant was Minister) according to their bounded Duty, &c. Here I cannot but think of that of the Poet, Si vis fallere Plebem

Finge

fecut:

form

Kirk

nate

Нур

Hol

can

of 1

dres

Ma

thon

and

mo

ney

In

gar

bir

in

ten

mi

D

P

pi

d

E

ti

And bow much is to be regretted, Finge Deum. that Religion should be made, even by it's Professors and Teachers, a Stale for gulling the People, and accomplishing the vilest Projects. Upon due Consideration of Things, it will appear, beyond all possibility of Contradiction, that in the Synods Prayer, there was the most impious and abominable Jugling. with the All-seeing God. Dare they pretend that they consulted Heaven, with the Indifference of a Traveller, as the poor Pagan Philosopher, could direct us to ask Counsel of God? Were they not already determin'd which way to take, when they pray'd the Holy Spirit might determine them? Had they not unanimously woted Mr. Grame Censurable, and refolv'd the State of the Vote (hould be Suspend or Depos'd, before they came to pray, as appears by their own Minutes. Was it not then positively and absolutely Decreed, that be should be Silenc'd, either by Suspension or Deposition, before they address'd to God for Light and Direction? Nay, without all Peradventure, Deposition it self was contrived and concerted against bim. And considering the Temper and Maxims of the Party, the meer Terms of the Vote infallibly demonstrate, what was peremptorily and previously to their solemn extraordinary Prayer, conspir'd and agreed on. Who then could much wonder if the Spirits of the Gentry, Town-Councel, and Magistrates of Dunfermline, (who were Witnesses to the Synods Prayer, and the Defendants Friends and Parishioners, and who appear'd at this last Pro-Secution

ed.

ors

Ç-

4-

ty

re

74

a :

.

t

secution in his Behalf, as they had done at all the former) were irritated and kindled against those Kirkmen, and wbo roundly told them, they Abominated and Detested such borrid Impiety, and bare-fac'd Hypocrify; and treated and reproach'd the Actors, as Holy Cheats, and thorough pac'd Tartuffs. Nor can it be thought strange, that this solemn Instance of premeditat Villany, under the Mask of Religion, drew the following remarkable Words from a great Man \* then present, addressing himself to our Au- Sir A. B. of ther, viz. Sir you see Presbyterians of all Kinds and in all Ages are the same. Alluding to another most notorious and wicked Prayer, of the same Kidney with the Synods, which was forerunner to that Infamous and bloody Sentence of their Ancestors, against King Charles I.

And now what could Mr. Grame have said for himself or how would be have justify'd his Conduct, in not pushing the Matters be touch'd to their due extent? I dare not Charge him with prevaricating; a mistaken notion of Charity and Moderation must have misted him. And I am perswaded, that all sober Divines, and other judicious Readers, who take the Pains to peruse the following Sheets will be ready to pronounce, that however the Presbyterians have condemn'd and caskeer'd our Author, by the Number and Power of their Votes, out of Prejudice, Passion, Self-Interest, and Gross Ignorance, yet he hath Bassled and Triumph'd over them, as well by the gentleness of a Charitable and Pacific Temper, as by the Force and Evidence of sound Reason.

After

After all, if any Person should happen to doubt of. or make any Objection to the Truth of this fo Unchristian a Tryal, and so arbitrary a Prosecution: for it may be suppos'd there will be some, who can bardly think it credible, that an Affair of this Nature and Consequence, should be transacted in the very Face of the Sun, and that in a Country professing Christianity, and so much Zeal for the Cause and Kingdom and Church of Christ. I fay to such Scepticks, I shall only in one Word make this convincing Reply, (viz.) That as this Monstruous Tragedy was not acted in a Corner, and that the same lasted for a whole Year, in different Ecclesiastical Courts, and Places, and by many and tedious Adjournments and References, by which Means, it became the publick Discourse in Scotland at that Time, so there are many Eye and Ear Witnesses of it still in being, besides several Persons of the best Rank and Fashion, who are ready to vindicate the Truth Exactness, and Faithfulness of Mr. Grame's Papers. And as a further Testimony of the unquestionable Truth of this very foul Transaction, all the Authentick Writings relating to, and the whole Proceedings upon this Extraordinary Process, may to this Day be seen and read in the publick Records of the late famous Synod, pro re nata at Coupar in Fife, and in those of the Commission of the Kirk at Edinburgh.

And here I may, ex superabundanti, freely add, that the Excellent Caracter our Author bore, the Ereat Reputation and Credit ke so justly acquir'd with Men Men Cour Lear Con

and weigh

dina any Fai

bis Ep

und Pro

> fing bis

> Rn Pe

fre ba

Si

CL

t).

Men of Sense of all Parties and Perswasions in his Country, by his General Knowledge and Consummate Learning, his singular Piety and Exemplary Life and Conversation, his unaddictedness to Party Quarrels, and extensive Charity, must certainly be of great weight and moment in this Point.

To conclude, as these Rare Qualities and Extraordinary Endowments, sufficiently, and even without any other Proof justify and evince the Veracity and Faithfulness of the Narrative our Author gives of bis Tryal, so, bis being in the Year 1681, under Episcopacy, turn'd out of his Living, for refusing the Telt. " His being twenty Years after that, . see Apunder Presbytery, depos'd a second Time, by the pend. Sest. Provincial Synod of Coupar, pro re nata, for per of Confiderat. Teaching the unquestionable Doctrine, and Pref- about the fing the downe Precepts and Morals of the Gospel; his firm adherance to the Revolution, and his being ever a publick Zealous, and avowed Defender of its known Principles: I fay such fignal Instances of the Perfection of Human Nature, in so many different Capacities, (which yet cou'd not rescue our Author, from the Fury of his Bigotted Enemies; so stupid and bardned were they,) must prove the strongest Arguments, and the most potent Incentives to awaken the Senses, and enlighten the Minds of the two contending Parties amongst us; and will more particularly serve to put to the Blush, and Impose an eternal Silence on the Tongues and Pens of Such of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and Dissenters in

Eng-

(xxiv)

England, as are still, or may be actuated by, and pesself with that Spirit of Contention and Persecution, or infected with the Principles and Guilt of the Practices, which so visibly governed those of their Society, who were Mr. Grame's Enemies, to their great Shame and Confusion, and to the general Disgrace of the whole Party-



THE

B

THE

## STATE

OFTHE

## PROCESS

AGAINST

## Mr. JAMES GRAME,

Briefly and Plainly Reprefented in an ADDRESS to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY Met at Edinburgh, March 1702.

A Y it please the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court in this Kingdom, to
which I have Appealed, and before
which I now compear, with all the
Deserence, Respect, and Submission, that are
due to the Authority they are invested with,
by the Laws of the Land: May it please, I

A

fay,

fay, this Reverend Judicatory, to take into their serious and impartial Consideration, how I have been treated and sentenced; and to vouchsafe me the Favour of passing their sinal Verdict, according to the common Rules of Justice and Equity; a thing, I presume, that could not reasonably be denied in the Case of an Insidel.

This Process was rashly and unadvisedly commenced by the Presbytry, upon the ground. less Complaints, and restless Instigations of a few factious and turbulent Incendiaries in the Parish. I was, it's confess'd, under no Scandal for any Vice, or the least Immorality, blessed be the Divine Goodness. I was never favour'd with a previous Admonition from any of my Brethren, of whom it might have been expeeted, in common Equity and Christian Charity, that they would first of all have essayed to Restore me in the Spirit of Meekness, if I was overtaken in a Fault: Their own Confession makes Admonition the first Step for the better attaining of the Ends of Church Censures. But indeed they feem to have been fo prepoffeffed, and blinded with Prejudices, that there could be no Place for fair and equal Dealing. For a \* Libel containing feveral gross Articles, as the Warrant to cite me bears, was found Re-

levant before I was heard, or fo much as fum-

C. 30. Sect. 4.

\*See the Appendix Sect 1.
June 26.

moned.

Upon

P

j

f

1

to

W

to

al

of

at

of

ly

d-

he

al

ed

,d

ny

e-

y,

to

ras

on

ter

But

ed.

ıld

10

as

le-

m-

101

Upon my first Compearance, I testified my July 10. passionate Desire to have all Animosities calmly allayed, Differences and Debates amicably adjusted and accommodated, by pleading for a friendly Communing with my Brethren. By this means, I hoped Prejudices might be taken away, and we come to understand one another better, and the Presbytry be convinced, that I was not such a Monster as, perhaps, I had been represented. But this Project proved unfuccessful, tho' a Conference was appointed between three of the Brethren and me. indeed, on this Occasion, Jealousies were heighten'd and inflam'd, quite contrary to my most hearty Wishes and utmost Efforts. First, the July 25. Brethren obstinately refused to admit any to be Witnesses of our Conference; then they utterly declin'd to draw up, and fign a joint Relation of what pass'd bine inde, which I offered: And finally, two of them, without the Con- + See App. currence of the third, gave in a fign'd Report sea. 2. to the Presbytry, making a very lame and in-Aug. 7. jurious Representation of the Affair, thro' Inadvertency and Forgetfulness, and not out of any wicked Design, or malicious Intention, as I charitably presume and believe: And so I found Aug. 21. my self obliged to present, as I did, \* a sepa- \* see AFP. rate Account of the same Conference, which I sed. 3. had penn'd immediately after our Meeting, while things were fresh in my Mind. And hence

A 2

it

it came to pass, that false Reports were spread abroad, and invidious Calumnies were propagated. I was painted out in a most hideous manner, as a rank Arminian, tho' I had in express Terms disclaim'd Arminianism.

Vide Dr. Sanderson on I Pet. 2. 16.

Cic.

Hor.

Vide Ali-

an. Var.

And here once for all, I fincerely declare, that I have always judg'd it dangerous to have Mens Persons in Admiration, so as to build my Faith upon their Judgments, or to pin my Belief upon their Sleeves. That Honour is due to no Man, but The Man Christ Jesus; and to no Writings, but those of the Old and New Testament, which are the Oracles of God. This I take to be a Part of that Libertas Christiana we have in our Saviour; fo that I can truly protest, I am neither Lutheran, Calvinist, Arminian, &c. because I do not embrace any Dogma, because Luther, Calvin, Arminius, &c. imbraced it. Nor, on the other Hand, do I reject any Doctrine, because they rejected it. As for what is called Libertas Philosophica, it may be justly claimed by, and must be readily allowed to every Man, in the Scrutiny of Truth, and Quest after human Learning. The wifest, the greatest, the holiest Man's Authority, is no fufficient Proof of what's true or false. On this Account, the fagest among the Pagans condemned the Scholars of Pythagoras, for relying Hift, 4.17. on his bare Word as a divine Oracle. That in one of their Poets, Nullius addictus jurare in

der-

ver

the

in

Ar

Pe

OU

re

Bi

th

S

tl

15

f

1

S

verba magistri, is approved as a Maxim; and their samous Moralist upbraids such as Jurant Senecain verba, nec quid dicatur astimant, sed a quo.
And I suppose, the most judicious and thinking Persons have ever held, that the Enslaving of our Judgments to the Dictates of Men, and the receiving an intire System of Doctrine by the Bulk, and taking up Opinions in the Gross, as they are own'd and professed by any Party or Society of Men, without a due Enquiry into the Grounds and Reasons of their Sentiments, is a thing not only unmanly and service, but also most unsafe, and extreamly prejudicial to Truth.

A little after the Conference, the Affair was Aug. 21. referr'd by the Presbytry, for Advice, to the Synod, that was to meet at Coupar; and this Reference was back'd with a Petition from the Eldership. This Synod did very frankly and Sept. 24. readily express their just and kind Inclinations towards me, and clearly enough discover how I was to be handled and trounc'd by them in due time. The very next Day after their Meeting, Sept. 25. (so keen and forward was their Zeal) they gave their Advice, and past an Act founded upon the Consideration of the Reference, and Petition, That the Presbytry should give me my Libel, fince they had fummoned me already, and carry on the Process till it be ready for a Sentence; and then bring it before a Committee to meet at

Kirealdie, with full Power to pass Judgment on the whole Affair. Here the Synod feems to have proceeded upon very infufficient Grounds. The Eldership's Petition ought to have been a Reason for censuring the Authors of it, but could never have induc'd prudent and unprejudic'd Men to affront a Brother, by ordering him to be judicially profecuted, for gratifying a few ignorant and impudent Calumniators. For their Petition expresly bears, that this Parish was desolate, and not under the Inspeation of a Gospel Ministry: Which is a direct virulent Reflection, not only on me, but by necessary Consequence, on whole Protestant Churches also, where Parity among Pastors doth not obtain: And I suppose, no judicious and sober Presbyterian will presume to affirm, that the Church of England is not under the Inspection of a Gospel Ministry; or that the Bishops and Conformists there do not preach the Gospel, because they have not discarded the 39 Artieles, their Liturgy and Catechism, for the Westminster Confession, Catechisms and Directory, or because they prefer Prelacy to Presbytery. Nor was it a good Reason for giving me my Libel, that I had been cited; for the Citation might have been unjust and groundless,

Sept. 1699. And de facto I was formerly cited, when no Libel followed, and the Process was let fall. But the worst of all was, that the Synod, in

Effect,

Ef

ha

01

Pr

re

ha

m

M

tl

B

ft

i

F

חו

to

S.

g

Effect, held my Libel to be Retevant, before I had been heard upon it, or had once feen it: Otherwise, how could they have appointed the Presbytry to carry on the Process till it was ready for a Sentence. The Presbytry might have feen Cause to throw out the Libel, upon my arguing against the Relevancy thereof. Matters, I doult not, have been aggravated to the Synod, by some of the hot and hide-bound Brethren. The Conference, forfooth, demonstrated me to be grossy Heterodox. I did, indeed, commune with my Brethren freely, as Friends use to do in private, in Compliance with their Defire; and for curing, if possible, their Suspicions and Jealousies: And I was the more inclin'd to use a Philosophical Freedom, because I had been assured, that what pass'd in the Conference should not be improved to my Prejudice. But when the Points, treated in the Conference, have been canvass'd and scann'd with the utmost Niceness and Scrupulosity, I am confident it will be found, that I have not advanc'd fo much as one fingle Proposition, which is contrary to the Rule of Faith, or was ever condemn'd by any Reform'd Church, as Heretical, or in the least prejudicial to Piety and Virtue. It's like indeed, I have not followed some Mens Theological Dialect, my Notions and Ideas differing from theirs: And as yet, I have feen no Law, or Reason, binding us all to the same precise Thoughts A 4

det

Sca

tan

for

ref

wh

be

Li

12

m

ti

0

N

H

Thoughts and Language in all Points. Nor is it possible, we should all exactly so jump and agree. However, notwithstanding our various Conceptions and Expressions, about abstruse speculative Points, I doubt not, but Ministers may, and ought to propound, and represent the great Truths of the Gospel, and to explain and inculcate the uncontroverted Rules of Holiness, without interfering with one another, or disturbing the Peace of the Church.

ally observed and executed. The Presbytry, Oct. 24. at their first Meeting, gave me my Libel. The Nov. 20. Time for producing my Answers was prolonged upon some Neglect, or Mistake, and a plain Falshood, I complain'd of. And before I gave in my Answers, I pleaded, that the particular Acts on which the Libel is pretended to be founded, and by which I was to be tried, might be specified. And upon the Resusal of a thing so equitated. And upon the Resusal of a thing so equitated. 4.

\*\*See App. ble, I \*\*protested for Remedy against the Presbysed. 4.

\*\*Mr.Logan.try.\* The Moderator opposed a Counter Protest,

in which there's this remarkable Passage; It is imprestable for Judicatories to determine explicitely in every Case, the Minimum quod sic, or the lowest Degree of what Amounts to Censurable Scandal; and the written Word of God, and the Light of Nature, are sufficient to determine in these Things, as far as is necessary, and particularly in the present Process. Now if it be not possible to deter-

d

IS

determine the lowest Degree of Censurable Scandal, then fure, Judicatories cannot (boc tantum possunt, quod Jure possunt) Inflict Censures for the lowest Degree of Scandal, unless they resolve to punish they know not what, nor why. The written Word of God, (that may be well call'd the Christian Pandests) and the Light of Nature, are excellent Rules, by which I am most willing to be Judg'd. But then, I hope, my Judges ought to acquaint me with the particular Laws of the Scripture, and the Dictates of Natural Light, according to which they will proceed in the Tryal. If I have transgress'd the Rules prescrib'd by Christ and his Apostles, to Evangelick Paftors, in fuch a Degree as deserves Ecclesiastick Censures, more than the Brethren themselves, it will be just to particularize these Rules. Or if I have not shap'd my Conduct, according to the Dictates of Natural Reason, such as the Pracepta Juris, mention'd in the Iustitutions of the Emperor Justinian, honeste vivere, alterum non ladere, suum cuique tribuere, there's all the reason in the World to treat me, with the utmost Rigour. On the other hand, if the Brethren have shrouded themselves under fair Generals only (as indeed they did, thro' the whole Process, as to this Point) how can their Conduct towards me, be Justified?

I know some young Men (such were the Majority of my Judges) gave out, that they would

Lib. I.

would Vote in my Affair, according to their Confciences. And furely they were in the Right, if what they faid was rightly underflood. For certainly Conscience is every Man's immediate Guide; and to act without, or against its Verdict, is plainly Brutish. It was Grot. de excellently faid by a great Man, Vim Judicatricem humanis Actionibus Ducem Deus Addidit, quà

Fur. Bell. & Pac. Lib. 12. cap. 23.

contemptà Obrutescit Animus. But withal it's to be confider'd, that as every Man is to be guided by his Conscience, so this is to be directed by fome Rule of Natural Light or Divine Revelation, or Human Law; according to the Nature and Variety of Cases that come to be examined or decided. So that to Judge or Vote according to Conscience, necessarily implies or supposes, some Rule, or Law, by which the Mind is Inform'd and Govern'd. Otherwife the Sacred and Venerable Name of Conscience, which has been so scandalously Abused and Profituted, proves to be nothing, but mere Will, Humour, Passion, Interest, &c. And it is most certain, that the most notorious Acts of Injustice, and the most barbarous and execrable Villanies have been perpetrated by the Impulse and Tyranny of Misguided Consciences.

And now I think it may be Freely and Truly faid, that the Brethren's having Infifted only on Scripture, the Light of Nature, and Conscience in general, in the present Process; but

never

neve

or C

Guil

thou

ferm

me)

be c

out

Lav

my

110

pu

TI

th

ct

ha

ei

b

ti

P

ir

ne

S

or

as

1-

ú

d

never Specifying any particular Dictate, Law, or Canon, by which I was, or could be found Guilty, Amounts to thus much: That they thought with themselves, The Incumbent at Dumfermline, (for thus they were pleas'd to Stile me) who is not on our Side, and professes to be of no Party, must by any means be turn'd out, plead what, and how he will, in point of Law, Reason, and Equity. If this be reckon'd my Crime, (I protest fincerely, I know as yet no other, for which I have been so restlesly purfued) I do folemnly avow, I account it a Thing Creditable, and a Degree of Happiness, that, tho' I heartily embrace and own the Dodrine of the Reform'd Church, yet I neither have, nor will Engage my felf for or against either of the contesting Parties amongst us; but hold my felf bound in Conscience to Contribute what lies in me, towards a Ceffation of Parties, in order to the True Interest of the Church, and the Welfare of my Country. This may be thought a perillous Profession; That I can't help. It feems to me, in this Juncture, Casus Confessionis.

Under the Protestation mention'd above, Dec. 11.
\*I produc'd my Answers to the Libel, late \* see the at Night; next Morning they were read be-Appendix fore the Presbytry: And then the Moderator, to Signalize his Subtlety and Acumen, or, perhaps, to testifie his Zeal for Truth, against one

he dream'd to be its Enemy, fell a Wrangling about this Passage in my Paper, That there's 4 Promise of Success to our Endeavours, plainly taught and frequently inculcated in the Scriptures. But my Reverend Brother was not aware, that he quarrell'd rather with the holy Spirit, than with me; it being Clear and Certain, that God's Promises afford good Reason and great Encou. ragement to wicked Persons, for renouncing their Sins, and reforming their Lives. whoever has the Confidence to affert the contrary, may well adventure to braze out any thing, tho' never fo palpably opposite to the Nature and Design of the Gospel. At last the whole Affair was referr'd, by Virtue of the Synodical Ast, to a Committee at Kircaldy, before which I was Cited, apud alta, to Compear.

Jan. 21. 1701.

This Committee did nothing as to the main Business, leaving the Matter entire and undecided to the ordinary Synod that was to meet at Dumfermline. But in the mean time, they sufficiently bewray'd, how forcibly they were swayed by Prejudices against me, as appears by the several Steps of their Illegal, Arbitrary, and Imprudent Conduct. The only Thing that feli, according to due Forms, under their Consideration, was the Libel and my Answers. But they must not be Limited, no not by Reafon, or Equity itself. They wou'd and did act as they listed, or according to what seemed

good

my F

fittef

ding

the

quit

bey

Pos

to E

Re

But

Tri

and

ten

A

in

T

th

C

ng

54

ht

But

he

th

l's

u.

19

nd

1.

17

10

9

n

V

e

S

good in their own Eyes: They pick'd out of my Papers, here and there, what they thought fittest for their Design, blending and confounding together my Answers to the Libel, with the Account of the Conference, which was quite Foreign to the Process. For 'tis plain, beyond all Contradiction, That the Libel being Posterior to the Conference, I was bound only to Answer what's Objected in that, without any Regard to what might be wrested from this. But in Effect the Committee Erected as 'twere a Tribunal of Inquisition, and Studied to Entangle and Torture me with Query upon Query, utterly Alien from the Business; Affecting and Attempting, as it feem'd, to disclose and pry into the inmost Recesses of my Mind, in a most Tyrannical manner, that fo they might descry those Errors in my secret Sentiments, which could not be found in the Faith I profes'd, and the Doctrine I taught: And because I declin'd to Answer what they had no Authority nor Reason to Ask. Outcries were rais'd, and I was traduced and defamed up and down, far and near, as a Man of unfound Principles, and a Corrupter of the Christian Religion. Wherefore that I might Shame and Silence those groundless and uncharitable Clamours, if It see the condescended to declare my Judgment, in the Ap endix most Material Points, Relating to the Queries, tho' I was not oblig'd to regard fuch Impertinencies.

Lei

Af

po

Sy

pr

co

na

of

G

CE

ti

p

3

ft

t

nencies. And then, the General Assembly being to meet precifely within a Month after the Committee, would not one have thought that common Prudence should have inclin'd the Brethren, who were Invested with so ample a Power, to refer the whole Process, which they acknowledged to be of great Import, to the Supreme Ecclesiastick Court; and by this means to rid themselves, and the Synod their Constituents, of the Burthen and Odium of fo Intricate and Invidious an Affair. They did not question, I suppose, but the Assembly's Zeal would be as Intense for the Good of the Church, as the Committee's was: And they will Confess, I am fure, that the Assembly must needs have more Wisdom to Govern their Zeal. But fince the Committee had got me hard and fast in their Clutches, they resolv'd not to quit their hold. And it seems to have been Concluded. That the Pleasure and Honour of Trampling upon, and Triumphing over fo obstinate an Incumbent, must be reserv'd and secur'd for the Clergy of Fife. Egregiam vere Laudem, &e.

April 1.

I compear'd before the Synod at Dumfermline, having been Cited, apud Alta, for that Effect, by the late Committee. It was not thought fit, at this Time, to venture upon a final Decision of the Process, which the Brethren found to be Intricate, and they had not Leisure be-

the

hat

re-

a

ey

he

is

ir

fo

id

10

y

ft

1.

d

it

f

Leisure thoroughly to discuss; and so the whole. Affair was referred to a Synod, pro re nata, appointed to meet at Coupar. Mean while, the Synod here discovered, that they were no less preposses'd and byass'd against whatsoever could be pleaded or defired on my behalf; nay, and against Reason and the Common Forms of Equity, than the late Committee. The Gentry of the Parish desir'd a Sight of the Process, only for a few hours, and Engag'd to return all the Papers that very day. This was peremptorily refused upon frivolous Pretences; and hereupon one of the Gentlemen took Instruments. I pleaded once and again, that the Synod might declare they intended to proceed only upon the Libel, and my Answers, nor could this be obtain'd, tho' Justice and the Nature of the Thing oblig'd to it. And fo I was Constrain'd to Protest (as I did in very respectful Terms) and take Instruments. Then I requested, that the Authors of the Resections on my Ministry, might be Censur'd, and so gross and scandalous Aspersions might be Condemn'd: And further, I demanded, that the Synod might declare, it was not their Design, by calling me Incumbent, to deny or Question my being Minister of the Gospel to this Parish. But they never vouchsafed to take any Notice of such reafonable Requests. I suggested very Calmly, That, fince the Process was difficult and perplexed,

plexed, it would be fit to confult the Commission of the Kirk. To this it was Answer'd. Sawcily enough, that they wou'd do as they judg'd Expedient. The Gentry and I jointly crav'd, that the Extraordinary Synod might be appointed on a more convenient Day, June being a time of Business, (I was Cited apud Asta to Compear the third Tuesday thereof) which might call both themselves and me to Edinburgh. But the Brethren were Inflexible as to the fet Dyet. After all, the Gentry follicited, that the Place of Meeting might be Kircaldie, for their greater Ease and Conveniency: But they quickly learn'd, that the Place was as unmovably fix'd, as the Time: So Absolutely and Despotically did the Brethren Decree the Minutest Circumstances. And is this indeed, the Gentle, Compliant, Debonair, and Condescending Temper, prescrib'd by the Laws, and recommended by the Life of our Blessed Master? Will not such a Stern, Insolent and Supercilious way of Treating Gentlemen, afford some Colour to the Enemies of our Function, for upbraiding Ministers, as not believing what they themselves Preach, and therefore unworthy to be believ'd by others?

June 17.

After I had been bandy'd about like a Tennis Ball, I Arriv'd at Coupar, and Compear'd before the Synod there, which did me all the Kindness I expected; I mean, favour'd and honour'd me

with

Wi

me

m

th

our

and

2

Sy

fo

T

Sh

A

fo

Pr

da

th

La

Re

Vo

in

OV

fu

on

Ri

ple

m

th

be

an

with a Writ of Ease, and solemnly Cashier'd me, after I had ferv'd faithfully, according to my little Skill and poor Ability, one and thirty Years under the Banner of the Captain of our Salvation, the High-Priest of our Profession, and the Bishop of our Souls. It will be very hard in a few Words to represent the Measures this Synod took, and the Method they followed, for effecting and compassing their Designs. The Extract of their Minutes fills about three Sheets. However, I shall Essay to give the Assembly a Sample of their Proceedings, in fome of the most Momentous Points of the Process. Now in general, I may truly, and dare confidently averr, that they govern'd themselves by no Forms, by no Rule, by no law, by no Canon, by no Dictate of Right Reason and good Sense. They never once vouch'd divine or human Authority, for justifying their Actings and Determinations. Their own Mind or Opinion, their mere good Pleafure, or unaccountable Will, were to them the only Standard of Truth and Falshood, of Right and Wrong.

t

15

).

y

0

is

re

s

ne

th

The Gentry, and other Parishioners of mine, pleaded, that three Ministers of the Presbytry, might not sit as Judges in my Affair, because they were Guilty of partial Dealing, having, before any Process was rais'd, consulted with, and advis'd the Accusers to pursue me. Upon

coule

most

ever

fus'c

reaf

ny'c

that

hap

in t

bef

min

Ex

in

cer

Ar

N

an

ki

Fo

pr

an

an

to

C

fo

th

th

C

Debate in the Synod, the Point was Stated thus, whether supposing the Truth of the Allegaim against the three Ministers, they shou'd be sustain'd as Judges? It past unanimously, that they should, and accordingly they sate as

Judges.

At the first Sederunt, a Committee was chofen to review my Affair, and to make a Re. port: After the Report was given in to the Synod, the Gentry and I pleaded that it might be imparted to us. This cann't but feem very reasonable, fince we were allowed to be heard. and to reason upon the several Heads of the Process, as the Moderator in open Synod told us; and certainly it would have been of great Use, to know the Committee's Judgment, together with the Reasons and Grounds thereof. By this means, perhaps, I might have been enabled to give the Synod, ample and full Satisfaction; whereas, whilst the Causes of their Dissatisfaction were conceal'd, it was impossible for me, or any mortal, to remove them. I cann't think my Brethren will venture to fay, (whatever others may) that for this very End, the Report was kept fecret, that I might be incapable to rectifie Mistakes, or to clear Difficulties. For this were certainly a most high Degree of Spite, Rancour, Malice and Injustice. Besides, since the Report was to be once communicated to me, what reasonable pretence could most proper and seasonable Juncture? However it was peremptorily and obstinately refus'd: And sure, if our Request was just and
reasonable, it was unjustly and unreasonably deny'd. This Repulse did so irritate the Gentry, The Gentry
that they presently took such a Course, as perhaps, otherwise they would not have done.

ment.

There was another difobliging Circumstance in the Synod's Conduct, as to this Point : For before they consider'd the Gentry's Request and mine, they proceeded to a Vote, Whether the Excerpts made by the Committee, be Just : (So it's in the Minutes. p. 4.) and their Judgment concerning the several Articles be true and right ? And it past unanimously in the Affirmative. Now this Procedure feems to be no lefs wicked and inconsiderate in itself, than it was provoking and Infolent, with respect to the Gentry. For the Synod did implicitely and blindly approve the Report, both as to Matters of Fact, and of Right, without Collationing my Papers and it together, and without a due Enquiry into the Reasons (if there were any) of the Committee's Judgment : So that the only Reafon of the Synod's unanimous Approbation, was their Brethrens simple Authority: That is, the Synod, Nemine Contradicente, approv'd the Committee's Report, because it was their Report; and this, I apprehend, will be deem'd forry Logick, and worse Divinity.

a fi

Vot

it 1

tha of

rin

An

and

ver

my

and

mi

wh

Th

01

na

Vic

the

CO

the

wi

10

A

be

fu

Fa

for

fy

Next, I intreated the Synod to specify the Acts of this, or any other Church, by which I was to be Try'd. The Synod voted, that my Request shou'd be deny'd: Only the Moderator told me, That they would build their Sentence on such Grounds as they should Answer for to their Superiors. And what was this, but gravely to fay nothing, or, at least, nothing to the purpose: For I claim'd, (as I had reason, according to the usual Forms) to be inform'd what Laws, Acts, or Canons, I had violated; and to be heard what Defences I could make. It was none of my Concern, how the Synod might clear themselves to the Assembly; so that here a Sham was put upon me, by a very trifling and impertinent Shift.

Another Demand of mine was, that the vile Aspersions cast upon me (by Petitions, first to the Synod at Coupar 1700, and to the Presbytry here, shortly after) as not being a Gospel Minister, might be consider'd, and the Synod pass their Verdict; nor cou'd this be obtain'd by any means: They resolv'd to go on in the Process, before they enter'd upon this Point, But this was not all, nor the Worst: When afterwards, I again insisted, that it might at least be declar'd, they wou'd Examine the Reselections on my Ministry, before they came to a final

d

e

h

r

6

It

d

V

C

el

d

d

e

t.

n

lt

2

0

al

a final Sentence, the Matter was put to the Vote, whether it should be so declar'd? And it pass'd in the Negative. One would think that a little common Sense, or the least Tincture of Honesty, might have kept Men from venturing to expose themselves in such a Manner: And I am apt to believe, that all learned, sober and pious Divines, will be amaz'd at what looks very like a phrentick Piece of Bigotry.

I need not mention, what I had infinuated in my Address to the Synod, with all just Respect, and becoming Modesty, viz. That the Commission of the Kirk, might be consulted, or the whole Affair referr'd to the General Assembly. This my Desire was not the least regarded: Our Synod was wise and able enough, to manage all things without the Assistance, or Advice, of the Gravest and most Experienc'd of their Brethren.

And here I must not omit, how the Synod condescended to acquaint me with what Articles they were dissatisfy'd (as indeed they were with every thing I had said, did, or cou'd say, or was said on my behalf) And allow me to Answer presently and positively, (as the Minutes bear, pag. 6.) what I had to add for the Synod's surther Satisfaction. This had indeed been a Favour, if they had likewise been pleas'd to inform me, upon what Grounds they were dissatisfy'd; but simply to tell me they were displeas'd,

and

can

tem

dee

non

ter

or

Ca

of

ri

fi

h

to

t

1

without any Account, why they were fo, look'd rather like a Snare than a Kindness. Of this I was very fenfible, but faw no Remedy. It was plain enough, that I could never fatisfy them, while I knew not the Ground of their Distatisfaction: If they were justly distatisfy'd. furely they could tell why. And if they could tell, and were willing to be fatisfy'd, they would certainly have told, why they were not fatisfy'd. But I found it needless to reason, where the Will, and not the Understanding, was Dominant: So that I was unavoidably engag'd to Compear once more before a Court of Inquisition, as formerly I had done, before the Committees of Kircaldie, Presbytry, and Synod of Dumfermline, and of this very Synod. And if such a Comparison be not offensive, let me fay, I must be again Catechiz'd. The Moderator, who was to be Catechist, appearing to be Grave, Calm, and Discreet, tho' but a young Man, I did the more willingly undergo this Piece of Drudgery.

I was pos'd upon a great many Points. But I shall content my self to give this Reverend Judicatory an Abstract of my Answers with respect to the Libel.

1. I was charg'd with Contempt of Authority, in Communicating with my Collegue after he was Depos'd. I did, and do utterly disclaim all Contempt of Authority, Civil or Ecclesiastick; and

and Contempt being an Act of the Mind, I can never in this Case be found guilty of Contempt, while I sincerely disavow it, (as indeed I do) unless there be some express Canon, declaring such an Overt-Act to be Contempt; and it be likewise prov'd, that I knew, or was oblig'd to know, that there was such a Canon, with Certification.

None of the Brethren ever warn'd me of, or offer'd once to Challenge me for such a Miscarriage. And with me it has always been a fix'd Principle, Ordo off rerum Anima: And I have always judg'd it more Eligible, patiently to suffer, than to Violate the Order, or disturb the Peace, either of Church or State.

2. Supine Negligence was objected, in that for four Years, or thereabout, I had not publickly Catechiz'd. As to this, the Synod, in Effect assoil'd me, forasmuch as they found me only Guilty (and that too, against all Reason and Equity, as I have demonstrated in several Papers) of Culpable Negligence. And I presume, I cann't be Gondemn'd for what's not in the Libel: But if they will make this the Ground of the Sentence, then I am sure they condemn themselves, and all the Ministers in the World, there not being one single Man, who can, or will offer to clear himself of all Culpable Negligence in the Discharge of any Part of the Pastoral Office.

candal

Groun

The S

this I

whon

be gu

ment

pose

Pres

hear

Unit

Chr

Cen

aga

in

Sy

ne

M

ob

ch

Pa

fo

C

t

1

And to make this out, fix Instances were adduc'd: 1st, I refus'd to sign the Confession of Faith, when conveen'd before the Presbytry. So then I am here only challeng'd for not Subscribing, when I was prosecuted before the Presbytry, which happen'd in the Year 1690, and am accountable for nothing else by the Libel as to this Point. Now it's incontestably Evident, that my refusing then to Subscribe, neither was, nor cou'd be any Proof of my Unsoundness, there being no Law at that time, obliging any Minister to Subscribe. What has been Enacted since, is quite Foreign to the Libel, and therefore altogether Impertinent.

4. 2dly, I tax'd an English Presbyterian Divine, for maintaining, that a Man in the State of Nature, could do nothing that was good, &c. This Article is so fully clear'd, that the Synod thought fit to wave it, tho' some of the Brethren first and last, wrangl'd too, too much about Points relating to it, which surpass the Reach of all Mortals. In one Word, while I affert the Necessity and Essicacy of Medicinal Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, as I do, and have always done, I presume no sober intelligent Divine will Censure me for Heterodoxy on this Head.

5. 3dly, I accus'd all that Separated from me and others of the Prelatick Communion, of the scandaf

candalous Sin of Schism, and that upon the Grounds adduc'd in the Seasonable Admonition. The Synod found themselves obliged to restrict his Instance to the Presbyterians in my Parish, whom indeed I not only accus'd, but prov'd to be guilty of Schism, if the Commission's Arguments be folid, as I think they are. But fupnose I had exceeded due Bounds in charging my Presbyterian Parishioners with Schism, out of a hearty Concernedness for Order, Peace, and Unity, I would gladly know by what Law of Christ, or Canon of the Church, such a wellmeant Act of mine deserved Deposition, or any Censure at all. See an Alt of the Assembly 1647. against such as withdraw from the publick Worship Sess. 13. in their own Congregation.

6. 4thly, I reflected on the Covenant, &c. So the Synod constructed this, an Instance of Unsoundness, and aggravated the Matter beyond all Measure; whereas truly there's no such thing objected in the Libel. The Accusers do indeed challenge me for some Passages I cited out of a Pamphlet intitled, Scotland's Present Duty, and for contradicting the Author in one Point. Now what I cited and approved, is, and must be confessed inosfensive and unexceptionable. And as to my differing from that Author, and venturing to contradict him; I hope it is not a very criminal Piece of Presumption, since he doth not pretend to be infallible. And I am apt to think

tau

lyr

the

as 4

Pri

Sci

ro

A

th

fr

h

ar

th

t

t

t

think he will easily pardon me, if Reason be on my Side, in affirming, That Entering into Covenant is not the highest Piece of Reformation, but only a Step, or introductory to it. What can be more clear and unquestionable, than that Engaging, Promising, Vowing, Covenanting, in the most solemn and sacred Manner, is not actual Performance? And now, to shut up this Point, I declare, it was no Part of my Design, on the Fast Day, to rip up, or meddle with the Transactions of the late Times: My Business was to convince my Hearers of their Disloyalty and Unfaithfulness to our God and Saviour, and to recommend and press Repentance, and Amendment of Life and Manners.

7. 5thly, I afferted, that Christ dyed for all and every one of my Hearers, and that the Reason why they are not all saved, is because some do do not sulfil I did indeed apply to my Hearthe Condition. ers what St. Paul faid to the Corinthians, Te are bought with a Price, &c. And who can, or dare point out that Person in any Congregation, to whom a Minister is not warranted and obliged to fay, Thou art bought with a Price? May, nay, must not Ministers from the universal Propositions of the Gospel, infer the Truth of particular ones? Is it not as clear as the Sun at Noon Day, that the Reason why so many Professors of Christianity perish, is, because they do not believe and obey our Saviour? Have I taught

On

ant

but

can

hat

ng,

not

his

gn,

the

efs

lty

ııd

nd

ry

ley

fil

.

re

e

0

d

,

t

taughtany thing but what has been the commonly received Doctrine in all Ages, and is to this Day
the Belief of the most famous reformed Churches;
as of the English, &c. I am truly sorry, that our
Provincial Synod has so much exposed it self to
Scorn and Contempt for their Ignorance or Arrogance, if they have condemned me for such an
Article, as no Man was ever condemned for (to
the best of my Knowledge) by any other Church,
from the Birth of Christ, to this Day. But it's
hop'd the Assembly will wipe off the Aspersion,
and vindicate the Credit of their Society.

8. 6thly, I made the Down-crying of Forms the Cause that Family Worship is so much out of Use. I need to say nothing on this Article, the Synod having acquiesc'd, as I take it, in what I represented. Only I must say, it seems strange, that the Brethren suffered this Article to stand in the Libel, since what I taught, amounts, in Essect, to no more than what's allowed by an Assembly in their Directions for secret and private Worship. 1647. Sess. 19. Sect. 3.

Thus I have abridg'd what's more amply deduc'd and confirm'd in other Papers: And when I reflected upon the whole Affair, I call'd to Mind what's observed by judicious Historians and Politicians, who tell us, That, in the Consultations and Transactions of Princes and States, there is often a vast Difference between the Real and Pretended Cause of their Enterpri-

fes and Actions. The Latter is called reopans, and the former airia. If it be true, and may be faid, that Churchmen have their own Politicks too, 'tis more than probable, that the Libel was only a fair and plausible Pretence, for proceeding so rigorously against me; but that, in Effect, there was somewhat else at the Bottom (for plain Shame, not to be own'd) which, like the hidden Spring, did set the whole Wheels agoing. And whoever will heedfully trace the several Steps of this Process, and duly weigh the obvious Circumstances of the whole Transaction, they can hardly fail to be convinced, that it was not Conscience, but Convenience, or a mistaken Interest, which did cast the Ballance.

But now I hasten to one of the most odd unaccountable Passages in the whole Process; I mean the Form and Tenor of the Sentence, in its sirst Edition, and the patching up of quite another in the second, after I was Civilly, or rather Ecclesiastically dead. Only in my Way I must take Notice, that my Address to the Synod had an Influence in procuring the Sentence against me. It's expressly noted in the Minutes (Pag. 9.) That among the whole Heads and Articles which the Synod consider'd a little before the final Decision, my late † Insuffice Address is realward.

\* see App. a little before the final Decision, my late of Insee. 7. veltive Address is reckon'd. It cannot but seem
very hard and strange to call my Paper Invetive (which contains nothing, I think, but the

Words

Wor

nifyi

der

mor

upo

nod

not

Wh

But

Ad

no

Cr

an

re

A

A

b

tl

27

r

Words of Truth and Soberness) without ever fignifying what had offended the Brethrens Tender and Delicate Ears. And this is yet the more furprising, that the Committee's Remarks upon my Address, were read before the Synod (so the Minutes bear Pag. 4.) tho' they are not fet down in the Extract I got of them. What a bizarre and capricious Conduct is this! But it's aftonishing beyond Measure, that the Address should have in the least mov'd the Synod to censure me, before I knew where the Crime or Fault lay. I might have soften'd and extenuated the Matter; or, I might have retracted what thro' Mistake had escap'd me. And truly, the very last Words of my Address might have fufficiently allayed the Brethrens Ardour, if I had provok'd them. For thus I bespeak the Synod, If there be any thing said thro' Inadvertency, or any other human Frailty, that violates Truth, Justice, Charity, Hamility, and may be justly offensive to any single Member of the Meeting, or to any pious, well-disposed Soul, I wish it unsaid as flatly contrary to my Intentions, and do under my Hand revoke it.

I return to the Sentence upon this Vote, Suspend or Depose. The Roll was called, and it carried Depose. And therefore the Synod does hereby simpliciter Depose the said Mr. James Grame, from all Exercise of the Ministerial Office in the Parish of Dumfermline, or elsewhere; and

that becamfe of the dangerous Errors and other Mifcarriages they have found in his Ministerial Function. Is there not here a very compleat Sentence? We have the folemn and weighty Cenfure of Deposition, the highest that the Church inflicts on scandalous Ministers, and the Grounds of the Censure, Dangerous Errors, and other Mifcarriages. But so far as I know, there was no Error prov'd against me; nay, in Essect, it was never once attempted. For I think the Brethren will not fay, that I was convicted to have fwerv'd from the Word of God, which is the Rule of Faith, in any Doctrine or Opinion of And I am fure, that according to the Protestant Principles, no Man can be condemned for Heterodoxy, who holds all necessary Truths (as he certainly does that believes the Bible) and contradicts none of them by any particular Notion or Dogma which he owns and professes. And I am farther sure, that no such thing was, or can be made out against me. Or if it cou'd, I wou'd forthwith renounce what had been shewed inconsistent with Scripture, and imbrace the contrary Tenet. How then were my Errors found? Till I be better informed, all the Account I can give, is, that the Synod was pleased to judge my Doctrine and Sentiments to be erroneous; whether the Proof be good and fufficient, let others determine.

BI

rors

doth

eithe

not

mus

nior

com

Bre

kno

Gno

Ma

Ne

lov

Qu

the

in

A

be

ag

m

th

te

ny

ri

tr

W

R

in F

1-

m·

of

ts

f

0

But let it be supposed, that I entertain Erors (what Mortal is free of them?) yet how doth it appear, that my Errors are dangerous, either to my felf or others? Sure all Errors are not so, otherwise all our Ministers, and all Men must be guilty, in Matters of Belief or Opinion, as the Synod pronounc'd me: Or how come my Errors to be Dangerous, while my Brethrens are harmless? And farther, I would know my Errors particularly: Are they Gnosticism, Chiliasm, Montanism, Sabellianism, Manicheism, Arianism, Photinianism, Pelagianism, Nestorianism, Eutichianism, &c.? Or, to come lower, Are they Socinianism, Arminianism, Quakerism, Latitudinarianism, &c.? Are these the Errors found in my Ministerial Office, or in me the Minister, which is the same thing? And for Miscarriages, I think it should have been express'd, of what Species they are, and against what Law or Canon. I verily believe my Brethren have not fo great a Conceit of themselves, as to plead Not Guilty, or to pretend an Exemption from Miscarriages. ny things we offend all. But perhaps my Miscarriages are of the first Magnitude, or of an extraordinary Size; fuch as Blasphemy, Sorcery, or Witchcraft, Sacrilege, Perjury, Rapine, Extortion, Raising of a Fortune by Cheating and Over-reaching those I have any Dealing with, Grinding the Faces of the poor, With-holding from them due Relief,

tief, frequent Non-Residence, Trampling upon Au. thority, Supine Negligence, &c. All these and many more fuch like Transgressions, are comprehended under the common Idea of Miscarriages. And now I declare ingenuously, I know not what to make of the Grounds of the Sentence. unless it be to this Effect: That I was most certainly and folemnly deposed, but neither then faw, nor yet fee, why? because the Court could not, or would not tell. If fuch a Sentence be valid against me, I may boldly venture to fay, There's not an Episcopal Divine in England, or any other Reformed Church, whom our Synod would not have Depos'd (had it been in their Power) for dangerous Errors, and other Miscarriages.

That I have alleged the exact Tenor of the Sentence, is evident from the Minutes (Pag. 10.) figned by the Clerk. It past Synodically, and was pronounced in open Court. Upon it, one of the Accusers, William Robertson, a Man well known, took Instruments in Name of the Eldership, and I appealed from it, and dictated my Appeal, which the Clerk hath faithfully recorded. And about ten Days after, I drew up additional Reasons of my Appeal from that very Sentence, which I dispatch'd to the Moderator and Clerk, eight Days before I saw the Minutes. This is the plain Res Gesta, that cann't be denied. Now the Minutes are either

falsi

here

and

mu

Cha

one

tha

wh

acc

Sen

W

tr

fig

P

H

fi

t

b

na-

re-

Tes.

not

ce,

of

ler

irt

n-

re

0-

m

here is nothing but downright Knavery, Cheat, and Imposture; which I hope the Synod as much abhorreth, as I do to lay it to their Charge. If they are not, what I have mentioned is the undoubted Form of the Sentence; that was judicially pronounced against me; which, I suppose, must be held void and null, according to all Law, right Reason, and good Sense.

It's true, on the 7th of August, about seven Weeks after, I was deposed, I received an Extract of a quite different Synodical Sentence, fign'd likewise by their Clerk, of the same Day, Place, and Time with the former Sentence. How to reconcile fuch apparent Inconsistencies, furpasses my Skill. Nor will it salve the Matter, to fay, that the Synod might extend their own Sentence. For in this Case nothing could be alter'd, omitted, or added, without swerving from all common Forms of Law and Equity, as I prefume. And indeed how could it be put in another Form, after it was fign'd by the Moderator or President of the Court? And I take it for granted, that it was fo fign'd, according to the Law of the Land, which all Judges are oblig'd to observe. See Alt 3. Parl. 1. Jac. 7. 1686. And I hope Presbytries and Synods do not look on Acts of Parliament as mere Cobmebs, which they may flight, and break through through when they please. Besides, the second Sentence could not be the Deed of the Synod. from which I had appealed, and which was disfolv'd before the new Edition was contriv'd. And that this Matter was not concerted and atchieved at Coupar, upon the 20th of June 1701, I believe Mr. Haddow, Moderator of that Sy. nod, will freely and ingenuously attest. Point may be illustrated by a plain Compari. Cains pursues Seins before a Bench of Judges, for 1000 l. After along Debate, the Judges pronounce Seins Debtor to Cains. The Clerk of the Court extracts and figns the Sentence, which S. faw was a plain Nullity. And yet, for the more Security, he appealed to a higher Bench. A few Days after, some of the Judges meet, (Parties being absent) interpret the former Sentence, and ordain S. to pay 600 l. to C. In this Case, it's evident, S. was obliged to pay nothing by the first Sentence, because the Debt was not specified. Nor cou'd he be liable by the fecond either, because the Court not being full, the Judges had no Authority: Or if they had, S. was not cited, and called to appear for his Interest, who might have been able to evince that he owed not a Farthing. And then by his Appeal, the Process was under the Cognisance of another Court. The Application is obvious.

pla

fpi

tyr

fuc

un

mo

an

pa

N

CE

m

W

b

F

A

b

i

ld

d,

as

d.

t.

1.

is

e

d

e

And now, upon the whole, it feems very plain, that I have been causlessly attacked, fpitefully purfued, outrageously injur'd, and tyrannically oppress'd. But notwithstanding fuch an uncharitable, inhuman, partial, and unjust Procedure, I do, as becomes a Christian, most heartily forgive my injurious Brethren, and fincerely protest, that I retain no bitter or passionate Resentments against any one of them-Nor do I charge all the Ministers in Fife, as acceffory to the Indignities and Outrages done me; for I have Ground to believe, that there were, and are among them, some wise and sober Men, who dislik'd, and regretted the Fierceness and Exorbitances of their Brethren. And far less can I, or any body else, reasonably load the whole Society of Presbyterians in this Kingdom, with the Excesses and Misdemeanours of a particular Body of them. The Process is now fairly, and without Disguise, stated, and laid before this supreme Ecclesiastical Court. They may with my free and full Consent, cognosce and determine in the whole Affair, as in their Wisdom and Equity they see Cause. In the mean time, I shall pray, that our blessed Lord and Master may direct and assist this Assembly in all their Confultations and Endeavours for the Honour of his Name; for the true Interest of his Church, for reconciling our Breaches, for C 2 mainmaintaining Truth, for stemming the Torrent of Vices and Immoralities, for reviving the Spirit, and restoring the Power of Primitive Christian Piety, with solid and universal Goodness.

JA. GRAME.

A REVI-

## A

## REVISAL

OF THE

MINUTES of the SYNOD,

Pro re nata,

At COUPAR, JUNE 1701. Concerning the PROCESS against Mr. GRAME, MINISTER of Dumfermline.

Was once very much inclin'd, silently to di-What mogest and pack up the Injury done me by the ved the Defendant Synod of Fife, under the Colour of Justice, to this and the specious Shew of Zeal for the Task. Good of the Church. And this inclination was confirm'd and fortify'd by that brave Christian Motto, Nobilissimum Victoria genus Patientia, which came often into my Mind. But upon second Thoughts, and the pressing Sollicitations of my Friends, it seem'd to be both just and necessary, that I shou'd assert and vindicate my Innocence calmly, always observing Moderamen inculpata tutela. It's plain and notorious, that I have been treated, traduc'd, and sen-

C 3

tenc'd.

tion,

of p

mity

that

and

Du

of (

Juc

gui

Pr

an

to

th

m

u

tl

tenc'd, as a Man scandalous and unworthy to ferve my Native Country, in the Quality, and under the Character of an Evangelick Pastor: All my Defences have been repell'd and rejected, as of no Validity or Force. Testimonies and Reasons, on my behalf, by Persons of the best Rank, have been disdainfully neglected and con. temn'd: If now, in such a Case and Circumstances, I should be altogether Silent, might I not be deem'd a Man felf-condemn'd, and branded with the Infamy of Ingratitude towards my noble and greatest Friends? And indeed, I am fully convinc'd, that both the Rules of Religion, and the Dictates of right Reason, oblige us to defend and maintain our Integrity and Reputation, against the Malice and Iniquity of false Accusers, and partial Rom. 12. Judges. It's an Apostolical Precept, to provide Cor. 8. for Things honest, not only in the Sight of God, but also in the Sight of all Men. And the great Orator and Philosopher, among the ancient Romans, gives it as the Character of a Proud, or felf. conceited and dissolute Person, to be unconcern'd what Opinion the World hath of us. Cicer. De Negligere quid de se quisque sentiat, arrogantis est offic. L. 1. & diffoluti. Upon such Motives I was induc'd to undertake a Revisal of the Minutes of the Synod, pro re nata, at Coupar: This I conceiv'd to be the most unexceptionable and compendious Way, to give a true and just Representation,

to

nd

d,

pl

ſŧ

tion, both of the manner, and of the Grounds of proceeding against me, to such an Extremity.

The first thing remarkable in the Minutes, P. r. June that Sir Alex. Bruce of Broomhall, for himself, 17. and in Name of the Gentry and Parishoners of nisters de-Dumfermline, pleaded for barring the Ministers fudges in of Carnock, Culross and Torry-Burn, from sitting as this Affair. Judges in my Affair, and that because they were guilty of partial dealing, having, before any Process was rais'd, confulted with the Accusers, and advis'd them to pursue me: This he offer'd to prove by their Oaths, which is omitted in the Minutes. And indeed, the Synod's Deter- The Synod's mination render'd fuch an Offer needless: For, that Point Decision of upon Debate, the Vote being stated thus, whe-examin'd. ther, supposing the Truth of the Allegation against the three Brethren, they shou'd be sustain'd as Judges? It was carry'd unanimously, that they shou'd, and accordingly they were This, I think, cannot but appear very hard and strange: Two of the Ministers (the Third was not then present) excepted against, having, in a few Words, disown'd what was objected, did discreetly and modestly, offer to feelude themselves: This also is omitted in the Minutes. And yet the Synod, by their unanimous Votes, sustain'd them as Judges, even upon Supposition, that they had really been guilty of partial Dealing, and previous

C 4

Con-

Confultation with the Accusers, advising, encouraging, prompting, and instigating them, to raise a Process against me. And is not this, in Effect, to declare and avow, that tho' my Accusers had previously consulted with, and been incited and egg'd on by every Minister in Fife, to pursue me judicially, yet all the Brethren were still to be reputed fair and equal Judges? A Witness will be cast, if he can be justly charg'd with partial Counsel, or if he but tell what he intends to Depone, which Lawyers call prodere testimonium: And yet must partial dealing, and previous confulting with Accufers, pass for an Objection of no Weight against a Judge? And, if I be not mistaken, the Civil Law provides, ut Judex sit indifferens, incline no more towards, do no more for, or against one of the Parties, than the other. And moreover, it requires, ut idem in codem negotio non sit Advocatus & Judex. How well fuch Maxims of Law and Reason agree with the Synods Vote, and the Brethrens Conduct, I leave to their own Consciences, and the common Sense of Mankind.

The purpose to decline the three Ministers unknown to the Defendant.

What the Gentry design'd by excepting against three of the Ministers, I do not know: The Matter was not imparted to me, nor had I the least Hand in it; nay, I did not so much as imagine, or suspect, that any such thing would be mov'd. Not that I thought there

was n

nam'd

that th

cates

ludge

and

Sellio

is ce

quen

in a

And

it W

beh

Pre

mig

Mr

Lil

Wa

H

N

Ba

0

P

13

to

in

V

d

n

1

was no just Ground to except against the forenam'd Brethren: For all along it was observ'd, There was that they acted rather like Accusers, or Advo-just ground cates against me, than as indifferent upright them. ludges. What pass'd in private between them and the pragmatical Members of the Kirk-Session, is best known to themselves. But this is certain, that my Accusers were more frequently with, and confided more in them, than in all the Ministers of the Presbytry besides. And when I came to be heard upon the Libel, it was visible to every Body, that those Three behav'd as Parties. Of this I complain'd to the Presbytry, and pleaded that my Accusers might be oblig'd to speak for themselves. Mr. L. then Moderator, told me, the Libel was taken off the Accusers hands, and was now to be manag'd by the Presbytry. Hereupon, I intreated, that one of their Number might be appointed to stand at the Bar, and plead against me, as Prostor for the Accusers, who, it seem'd, were to be look'd on as mute Persons in the Play. But there was no Remedy; instead of one to rise from the Bench, that he might stand at the Bar, as an Advocate, I had, at least, the foresaid three Ministers, sitting as Judges on the Bench, and yet at every turn pleading against me, as the hercest Accusers at the Bar.

ted,

plura

thori

yet

Mr.

be a

jecti

cert

will

the !

ferr

com

mer

that

feaf

feer

felf

gre

Sta

at

par

Per

IW

he

and

Co

M

ler

th

Pr

Mr. Logan's Apo-

Mr. L. one of them, did in a peculiar Man. logy confiner Answer to what was objected against him. by the Gentry. His Words are recorded in the Minutesthus; that he was so far from advising to carry on this Process, that he, by his particular Moyen, had kept it back three Quarters of a Year. He meant, I suppose, that he kept this Process, for so long a Time, from being commenc'd; otherwise what's faid would not be true: For this Process was not kept back, but carry'd on most vigorously, after it was once begun; and I am perfuaded, Mr. L. would affirm nothing contrary to his knowledge: I had been summoned in September 99. to compear before the Presbytry, to answer to a Libel; but by the Advice of some prudent Ministers of Edinburgh; by the Activity of two or three discreet Brethren of this Presbytry, and the Favour of a Person of Eminent Quality, then residing in another Parish, the Process was let fall; and fo the Affair lay Dormant till June 1700, by Mr. L's particular Moyen, as he declares. Here, I must confess, I cann't comprehend, fuch is my Dullness, how a Process could be kept back, by the particular Moyen of one Minister, under the Presbyterian Constitution, to which Parity is essential. I may be mistaken about the Sense of particular Moyen: For I take the Words to import Mr. L's fingle Authority, or Influence: And, I prefume, it will be granted,

n-

n,

in

;-

i-

4

is

e

it

e

ted, that where every thing is transacted by plurality of Voices, no Brother has more Authority or Influence, than another. But there's vet somewhat harder for me to conceive in Mr. L's Apology: And that is, how it could be a pertinent Answer to the Gentlemens Obiection against him: For taking it to be true and certain, upon Mr. L's Word (which I am willing to believe) that by his particular Moyen the Process was kept back; how can it be inferr'd, therefore he advis'd not to raise or commence it? Might he not be both the Instrument to keep it back for fuch a Time, and after that advise to awaken or revive it, in the most seasonable Juncture? And truly, his Reason fems to conclude most forcibly against himfelf: For if his Power, or Influence was fo great, as to hinder me to be brought on the Stage for about Forty Weeks; must it not be, at least, highly propable, that I was, by his particular Moyen, prosecuted, at such a precise Period of time, as was judg'd most convenient. I will leave it to be discuss'd by others, whether he made a good Use of his great Influence; and only add, that if he look'd on me as a Corrupter of the Christian Dostrine (as to the Morals of Religion, I have never been challeng'd) he will hardly be able to Answer for the Abuse of his Power, in keeping back the Process so long. And yet, perhaps, it will appear

appear at long run, that he had confulted his own Credit, and the Interest of his Party better had he improv'd his mighty Influence, for blasting and defeating the whole Contrivance against me.

There might be other Instances and Sentences brought of violent Animofities and rooted Prejudices among the Brethren of the Synod against me. But what needs more than the forementioned unanimous Vote, to demonstrate, how just and disinterested Judges lapoccount of pear'd before. And thus I am led to conjecture, the Gentrys that the Gentlemens Design in excepting against in two or three Ministers, was to feel the Synod's Pulfe, or to try what might be expected from them, as to a fair, equal, and impartial Procedure. But whatever might be the Gen-

Defizn

them.

declining

try's Project, I am fure, that by this first Step, they made a thorough Discovery of the Brethrens moderate Disposition and good Inclination towards those who cann't think as they do, and scorn to profess contrary to their Thoughts, or to bely their Sentiments.

And now, will it not be Matter of Wonder The unreafonableness to all unbiass'd, thinking Persons, how the of the Sy-Ministers of a whole Province came so unadviduct in this fedly and openly, to bewray the Prepossessions Point, 10wards the and Prejudices of their distemper'd Minds? One wou'd think that common Prudence (to Gentry. abstract now from Point of Conscience) shou'd

have

ave

nen,

cause

one .

who

go t

And

enot

to t

give

The

tha

fee

nar

as

Th

ьу

to

th

th

lit

A

F

tl

n

1

1

ter

for

nce

en-

ted

od,

he

11-

p.

re,

f

y-

ed

al

1

0,

ave induc'd them to oblige so many Gentlenen, where their was no Hazard to their aufe, nor the least Fear of disobliging any me of their special Friends. The Ministers who had been challeng'd, were willing to forethe Honour of being Judges in my Affair. And the Synod was abundantly fure of Votes mough besides, to decide the Business acording to their Mind. What Account then can be given of this odd and bizarre Conduct of theirs? The most probable Reason I can hit upon, is that they were secretly gall'd and piqu'd, to fee fuch a Company of Gentlemen countenancing one whom they refolv'd to difgrace as far as their Power and Spite cou'd reach. The Brethren having their Spirits imbittered by such Resentments, did think it sit, I believe, to cross the Gentry in every thing, as indeed they did; and to make me sensible, that the Respect put upon me by Persons of Quality, was the high and ready way to my Ruin. And it's certain, that some Ministers, both in Fife and elsewhere, had the Face to say, I was the worse treated, that such and such Gentlemen had espous'd my Quarrel and Interest. What Silliness, what Meanness, what Perverseness, what palpable iniquity, may be discover'd here! I cann't, sure, be justly charg'd with excusing or extenuating, and far less, justifying the Faults of any. And I am confident, dent, fuch as have lived under my Ministry will acknowledge, that I have used all beco. ming, discreet, and pastoral Freedom (according to my poor Capacity) without Respect of Persons, both in publick and private, against the Vices and Immoralities, which are fo great a Scandal to our Religion, and the fatal Bane of fo many Souls. But whatever may be the Miscarriages of the Gentry, what is this to the Merits of the Cause? Can what's right become wrong, or what's falle prove true, according to the different Opinions and Qualities of Perfons or Parties? Is the Goodness or Badness of a Cause to be try'd by the Virtues or Vices of the Advocates, who plead and maintain it? Did not the same Persons who interessed themselves for me, elect, and call Mr. Kemp to be

The Prebyterian Minister of

Minister here? And if he ought not to be ill Dumferm, look'd on for being favour'd and preferr'd by them, why shou'd I suffer, or be the worse treated for their fakes? When the Party shall be pleased to ponder things better, and to turn their Eyes homeward, I verily think, they will not judge it meet to tempt Men to pry into the Lives and Manners of their Friends, left they be superabundantly pay'd in their own Coin, with as just as sad Recriminations.

But for the Matter it felf; I mean, that the The Defendani's Sense Gentry, Magistrates, Town-Counsellors, and rishioners. other Parishoners, concerned themselves on my

Be-

Be

rel

yet

as t

a l

VOI

ble

Ift

def

cen

fing

ten

ven

wif

if

aga

fed

pre

ftar

zea

and

7

Rea

\*L

ona

are

Con

tain

poin

and

Behalf; tho' I do, and always will gratefully Respect, resent their Kindness, Justice, and Generosity; and the syyet, I presume, they will allow me to declare, tiality. as the Truth is, that I never follicited for such a Favour, which they frankly and resolutely vouchfaf'd, from first to last, with great Trouble, and no less Expence. And for my Part, I studied, according to my small Ability, to defend my good Name, and maintain my Innocency, as if there had been not so much as one fingle Friend or Patron in the World, to countenance and stand by me. In fine, I will here venture to refer it to the Verdict of all wife Observers of men and things, whether, if those who took my Part, had appeared against me, the Synod would not have caresled and complemented them with great Expressions of Respect and Honour (notwithstanding all their Infirmities and Failings) as zealous Favourers and Promoters of the Cause and Kingdom of Christ.

1-

be

ill

by

rfe

all

ırn

vill

the

hey

oin,

the

and

my

Be-

Their first Session was concluded with the some PaReading of some Pieces of the Process, viz. the pers read,
and a Com\*Libel against me. \*\* My Answers, † an additi-mine choonal Paper, in which some Points in my Answers en.
are farther confirm'd; the Minutes of the sest. 1.
Committee at Kirkaldy; and my \*† Paper consest. 5.
taining the Proceedings thereof; And the Ap-† see Appointing of a Committee to review my Affair, sest. 11.
and to make a Report concerning it.

Sest. 6.
The

The Committee not being yet ripe (for fo June 18. Hor. 3. it's worded in the Minutes) to give in their Pom. The Bre- Report, it was ordered, that they should meet thren, firft again to Morrow Morning. and last.

much embaraffed, seed. June 19.

Hor. 10. Antm.

The Committee's Report not being yet reahow to pro- dy, they were appointed to meet again at two in the Afternoon. Behold the Brethrens inde. fatigable Diligence and Industry, in fo momentous an Affair! By an Act of the Synod at Coupar, Sept. 1700, the Presbytry of Dumfermline was enjoin'd to prepare and ripen the Process for a final Sentence, to be pass'd by their Committe at Kircaldy. That Committee left the Affair undecided, and referr'd it to the Ordinary Synod at Dumferml. Apr. 1701. That Synod, after the Process had been examin'd with great Application, and maturely confider'd for two or three Days, adventured not to determine the Matter. And now the Committee of this extraordinary Synod, feems to have been puzzled how to proceed, or what Report to Tanta Molis erat - Confultation upon make. Consultation was found necessary, for inventing and contriving some colourable Pretence against one who had so long been an Eye-sore to the Bigots of the Party. Mean while, the Synod orders those Papers, which they had not

Hor. 4. Pam. More Payet heard, to be read before them, viz. \* An Acpers read. See the count of a Conference between three Ministers Appendix of the Presbytry and me, which I wrote and fub Sella 34

fcrib'd,

fcril

mat

til t

Ho

figi

viz

line

figi

we

Af

I

Co

tit

to

be

bu

th

ju

k

tl

m

n

0

t

b

n

n

1

t

fcrib'd; and, \* A Brief Account of the most \* see App material Passages in the Process against me, until the Meeting of the Committee at Kircaldy. However, there were two Papers, either de. Two main signedly overlook'd, or heedlessly forgotten, gotten. viz. The Minutes of the Presbytry of Dumfermline; and, † An Account of the Conference \* see Application of the Conference \* see Applicati

Upon the Reading of Papers, therearose anew Anew Con-Contest. For Sir Alex. Bruce urg'd, that the Pe- test about tition of the Gentry, and others of my Parish, a Petition in the Deto the Presbytry, in my Favour, might be read fendant's before the Synod. The Petition was call'd for, Favour. but could not be had. Mr. Maire, Clerk to the Presbytry of Dumfermline, endeavour'd to justify himself, by declaring, that he had marked in the Minutes of the Presbytry, all of that Petition he was desir'd to mark, and transmitted all to the Synod he was defir'd to transmit. And then an Extract of the faid Petition was read. But Sir Alexander still insisted, that the authentick subscrib'd Petition might be produc'd, affirming, that the Extract was neither full nor just (this is omitted in the Minutes) whereupon he protested, and took Instruments. This Point being debated in the The sy-Synod, the Refult was, that, fince the Clerk of nod's the Presbytry had not defignedly substracted tion. E that

9

that Petition (as he declar'd) the Subject of which was contain'd in the Extract now read: fince the Gentlemen had neither exhibited, nor demanded that Petition, before the late Synod at Dumfermline, when all Papers relative to the Process were call'd for ; and since the Gentry's Defign was to express their Respect and Adhe. rence to nie, which they now fufficiently did by their personal Appearance; the Refult, I fay, was, that the Want of that Petition ought not to ftop the Synod's Procedure, as was intimated to the Gentlemen.

Matters not truly represented nutes ; and both the the Defendant iniur'd.

And here I must be allow'd to say, that the Revifers or Compilers of the Minutes have not dealt in the Mi- bona fide (other Instances have been, and more, perhaps, may hereafter be observ'd) in this Par-Gentry and ticular. For there's no Account given how Sir Alex. Bruce reply'd, in his own, and others Name, that it was in their Option to call for that Petition, at what time they pleased, beforea final Sentence, which they foon perceived the Synod at Dumfermline intended not to pass. Besides, it's notorious, that, at Dumfermline, a Sight of the Process was crav'd by the Gentry, and that, upon the Synod's Refusal, Sir Alex. Bruce protested, and took Instruments, as appears by the Minutes of that Synod. And it's plain, the faid Petition was a Part of the Process; because, either in the Body of the Petition it self, or at the Presenting thereof to the Presbytry,

it

W

01

tl

11

C

(

or

d

10

d

it was expresly claimed, that it might, in the whole Series of the Affair, be carried on with other Papers relative to the Process. So that the Gentry did really call for what they are most falsly affirmed in the Minutes, not to have called for. Nor is it justly alledged, that the Gentry's personal Appearance compensed the Want of the Petition; this being a standing Evidence, and that only a transient Testimony of their Zeal and Concernedness for my Credit and Interest. As for the stopping of the Synod's Procedure, if any fuch thing was aim'd at, is to me utterly unknown. Nor did the calling for that Petition spring from any Motion of mine. Nor was I so much as privy to the Gentry's Design, to plead that the Petition might be read. There was a Custom called, Laudatio, among the ancient Romans, that, in Bas. Kenn. their Trials, Persons of Credit might come and Rom. Angive their Testimony of the accused Person's p. 36. good Behaviour, and Integrity of Life. And Lond. 96. we find, that the least Number of these Laudatores us'd to be Ten. Tho' I did not follicite for fuch a Courtefy, or Kindness; yet I cann't but be very fenfible, that Petitions which bespatter and defame me, are carefully preserv'd, whilst one in my Favour, by such as knew me best, and were more able to distinguish between found and erroneous Doctrine; not only than my Accusers, but even than perhaps not a few of

]egal

And

pat

the

has

con

tair

no

1

11

A

kr

01

14

C

n

my Judges, could not be fo much as once heard. or feen by the Synod. And whether this be a good Sign of an upright and impartial Procedure, let intelligent and honest-hearted Men determine.

The Report mittee (cann'd with due Care.

Now I come to what was conceal'd as a grand of the Com- Secret, I mean, the Report of the Committee, concerning my Affair, which the Synod has been pleas'd to disclose, by favouring me with an Extract of their Minutes, after the Intrigue had fucceeded according to the Party's Mind. In the Report, Matters are deduc'd very orderly, according to the feveral Articles of the Libel. But I hope to make it appear, that, however it hath the Advantage of Method (in which it was not easy to err) yet it wants the proper and essential Conditions, viz. The Beauty and Solidity of Truth and Justice. And perhaps, the Proverb, One Tale is good, till another be told, will be here verify'd.

Concerning dant's Contempt of

1.5

To prove me guilty of Contempt of Authority, the Defen- in joining with Mr. Couper, after the Sentence of Deposition was pass'd against him, they add, Authority and duly intimate. This Clause is notoriously false, there never having been any due intimation of such a Sentence. But my Answers shew, that I knew there was such a Sentence: And do they not shew likewise, that my private, Knowledge of fuch a Fact, by common Fame or mere Hearfay, signifies nothing, while the legal

legal Formality of a due Intimation is wanting? And why was there no notice taken of that fo pat Example I bring, viz. That a Sentence of the Secret Council against a Minister in Absence, has no Effect, nor infers Contempt, tho' he continue exercifing his Ministry, and be certainly inform'd of fuch a Sentence, if it hath not been, in due Form, notify'd to him? But I knew the Presbytry's Order to intimate it. I had indeed heard, that it was so order'd. And what then? Neither their Order, nor my knowledge, makes, or proves a legal Execution, or a due Intimation. But I know, it was tumultuously interrupted. I neither did, nor cou'd know any fuch thing, because there was no fuch thing, fo far as I have been hitherto inform'd: The Provost of the Town, with some others, made resistance, I heard (but without any Tumult) by mere Force of Arguments: And, I presume, there may be Re-Refistance. fistance, without any Violence. Parliaments have refifted the Wills of Princes, without Sedition, or Rebellion, in Defence of their Laws, Liberties and Religion. My Parishioners and! I have refifted Presbytries, Synods, and their Committes, by the plain Force of Reason and Equity, without any the least Semblance of a turbulent Behaviour. And further, I had no hand in the Refistance that was made; I was neither witness to it, nor advis'd D 3

Syno

Gro

dical

with

to f

Aut

unf

bei

had

of

th

m

0

Rabbling.

vis'd it. And indeed, I do very willingly leave to others entire, the noble and illustrious Atchievements of Rabbling: The Honour and Renown, accruing from the outragious Pranks of a blind and giddy Zeal. Besides, if the Parishioners here made anytumultuous Opposition, was not the Law open? Were there not Judges? Might not, nay, and wou'd not fuch Criminals have been impleaded, pursu'd, and brought to condign Punishment?

When the advised. mit.

But moreover, I advis'd, faith the Commit-Defendant tee, Mr. Couper to submit to the Sentence of Mr. Cou- Deposition. It's clear then, that I contemn'd not per to sub- the Authority of the Depofers. But I will not arrogate to my felf, what I cann't truly and justly pretend to; and therefore I will ingenuoufly relate what was my conduct in this Point. I did indeed advise Mr. Couper to obey the Summons, to fubmit to the Sentence, and fue for a Redrefs, before the Supreme Ecclesiastick Court, as it's in my Answers : And yet I never meddl'd nor interpos'd, in reference to the Affair before the united Presbytries. faid indefinitely, the Committee has mistaken and misapply'd to the Process before the Presbytry at Kircaldie; whereas I intended it only, as the Thing in Effect was, with respect to what pass'd before the Synod at St. Andrews: I most earnestly befought and importun'd my dear and worthy Collegue, to wait on that Synod, Synod, which he refus'd, not without good Ground, as he conceiv'd. And when the Synodical Sentence came to his Hands, I urg'd him, with all possible Seriousness and Concernedness, to submit: Doth this look like Contempt of Authority? But my Endeavours proving so unsuccessful, I resolv'd to meddle no more, being fully satisfy'd, in my own mind, that I had acquitted my self, as became a sincere lover of Peace and Order.

This is not yet all; for the Committe finds, Instruments that the Brother, who was appointed to inti-taken, and Intimation mate the Sentence, took Instruments, upon the of the Sen-Opposition he met with, and went to Meeting-House, and intimated it there. And House. what is this to me? By his Conduct, it appears, it was not his Fault, that the Sentence was not intimated; and I am fure, it was as little mine. However, his Deed demonstrates, there was no legal Intimation: For the Meeting-House, it's not Nomen Juris, I suppose; and the Intimation there, fignify'd no more, than if Mr. Charteris had read the Sentence from his own Pulpit in Enerkethin. But I say, it wou'd The Defenhave been scandalous for me not to have join'd dant did with Mr. Couper in the Lord's-Supper. I do in-nothing, deed fay fo, and more too, in my Answers. was bis My Words are, not to have done, as I did, had Duty. been very Scandalous. And again, had not the doing of this (viz. to be the Author of a new D 4 Schism.

grant

ceive

to th

nor

(exc

char

with

and

Up

Bre

litt

Iw

not

equ

tag

M

fu

pa

qı

de

0

Schism, for not celebrating the Sacrament) been far more Scandalous, than what's Objected? And do I not give this plain Reason for my Deed, that it was my Duty? And I am still of the same Mind, that it was my Duty, both as a Christi. an and a Pastor, to administer and partake of the Eucharist, at that Time. And if it must be held Contempt of human Authority, I will fatisfy my felf (as indeed I do joyfully acquiesce in it) with the Apostles answer to their unjust and hypocritical Judges; We ought to obey God rather than Men. And I do here most fincerely protest, tho' I had apprehended, and foreseen, that my Brethren wou'd not only have deposed, but also excommunicated me, for doing what I judg'd my self bound to do, I wou'd nevertheless have done, as I did, and reckon'd their most rigorous Sentence a mere brutum fulmen, in fuch a Cafe.

of his ju- In fine, the Report bears, that I justify the Pastifying the rish in owning Mr. Couper in his celebrating of the
Parish in
Owning Mr. Lord's-Supper, after the Interruption made to
Couper. the Intimation of the Sentence, in regard I say,
They were in bona side to own him, notwithstanding

They were in bona fide to own him, notwithstanding of all that was done. So far as I can find, there's no such Saying in any of my Papers. My

In the An-Words are, The Parish are in bona side to own swer to the him, as their Pastor, so long as he was not, in a cle of the due legal Form, laid aside. Now I presume, Libel. See What's here affirm'd in thesi, will be readily seet. s.

granted:

granted: For my justifying the Parish, I conceive the Synod's Procedure will justifie me, as to this Point: For they have not condemn'd nor censur'd one single Person in the Parish (except my felf) for owning Mr. Couper in difcharging all the Parts of his Pastoral Office, notwithstanding the Sentence pass'd against him, and the interrupting the Intimation thereof. Upon fecond and fober Thoughts, I hope, the Brethren will resolve to ponder this Matter a little more exactly. Either then the Parish and I were equally guilty of Contempt, or we were not? If we were, why have we been so unequally treated? If we were not, the Advantage will be evidently on my side, who advised Mr. Couper to attend the Synod, when he was fummon'd, and to submit to the Sentence they pass'd against him; whereas the Parish did the quite contrary. If my Judges disdain to consider this, I despair not, but wise Men will.

There comes next the Committes Verdict upon their Report, They give it as their Opinion, The Comthat my Exculpation doth not vindicate me from mittees
gross Contempt of the Authority of this Church, but on this
that it doth aggravate my Contempt. They deliver their Mind modestly and timorously, to Report exemin'd.
give them their due Praise. It's their Opinion
only, which is an Assent, as Philosophers teach,
cum formidine partis oppositæ. They inclin'd to
judge so and so; but they were not sure, that
they

a th

a fr

u th

take

othe

thin

hath

Exc

cull

and

the

the

ma

Cor

De

Me

if

ap

(th

Wi

wh

the

tha

tel

ca

ab

th

G

be

they had hit Right. It's therefore very reafonable to enquire into the Ground of their Opinion, which is fo fevere against me. What I have faid for my felf, not only vindicates me from gross Contempt, (this is more than I am charg'd with in the Libel) but aggravates my Contempt, according to the Committees Ver. dict. So that, if Men will be so civil, or so filly, as to Metamorphize their Opinion into an Oracle, I must needs pass for a Blockhead, without Wit or Sense to plead for my felf. But I will quarrel with no Body for their mean thoughts of me; my Business now is, to see what Arguments the Committee offers for their Opinion: For my part I cann't find fo mnch as one. And I am fure, they have not once attempted to convince me, that it was not my Duty to join with Mr. Couper in administring and partaking of the Sacrament. And I cann't but look on it as my Duty, till it be fufficiently prov'd that it was not my Duty: And if it was my Duty, fure, it cou'd not be Contempt: And if it was not Contempt, it can never be deem'd gross Contempt. Now I prov'd it to be my Duty, by a folid Reason out of the Sea-When Men may unite Sonable Admonition. " without personal Guilt, or Accession to the " Defect and Guilt of others, there may and " ought to be Union - because Men are to " reckon, not for other Men's Faults, but ce their

Pag. 9.

" their own. Can it warrant a Man to abstain " from his Duty, because others do not " theirs?" - The Committee hath not taken the least Notice of this, nor of several other things to the same purpose. And I can't think it will be pretended, that the Committee hath duly consider'd what I represented for my Exculpation. Their way has been to pick and cull out of my Paper, Shreds and Fragments, and to skip over what might seem to pinch them, or cou'd not be rendred subservient to their brotherly and charitable Design, first to make me odious, and then to condemn me. Cou'd they otherwise have over-look'd in my Defence that Part, which, by all indifferent Men, will be judg'd fo proper to touch them, if they could be touch'd. And I do indeed apprehend, that it's my plain and free dealing (tho' in my own just and necessary Defence, and with a due Allay of Tenderness and Charity) which has offended the Brethren, and mov'd them to affirm, without any Shew of Reason, that my Vindication aggravates my Contempt.

But now, if Mr. Couper was not guilty of contemning the Authority of this Church, there per's Cafe can be no ground for such a Coil and Bustle stated. about my Contempt thereof: And to this Day that innocent and good Man disclaims any such Guilt: It's true, when he was cited to compear before the Synod, September 93, and that Synod

them

for (

after

Affai

high

thou

Con

oft

Caf

And

Ref

ble

abo

fice

th

an

aft

de

Ju

pi

as

he

m

fe

C

C

a

suspended him, till his Affair shou'd be examin'd by the General Assembly, he neither regarded the Citation, nor the Sentence. And in like manner, when in December 93, he was fum. mon'd before the united Presbytries of Kircaldie and Dumfermline, and at length depos'd by them, he neither obey'd the Summons, nor fubmitted to the Sentence: And yet there was no Contumacy, nor Contempt, in his Conduct, as he conceives; because his Business had been referr'd to the General Assembly upon his appealing to it, and had never been remitted, either to Presbytry or Synod. The Gentry and other Parishioners represented this to the Synod by one, whom they deputed and empower'd, to protest against all proceeding in that Affair, on this very Account, because it was depending before the Supreme EcclefiastickCourt. And Mr. Couper himself signify'd the same to the united Presbytries, by his Letter, declaring his Adherence to his former Appeal, together with a Protestation against all further Procedure: So that he thought it very plain, he cou'd not be constructed to despise the Authority of the Church, while he was exprely owning the Supreme Authority thereof. Suppose there's a Process against one, depending before the Lords of Council and Session; and that, in the mean time, our Bailiffs of the Regality order the Defendant to be cited before them, d

0

5

d

t

e

r

1,

1-

ly

).

lg

ld

e-

re

n,

them, on the very same Head, and fine him for Contumacy, upon his Non-Compearance. after it has been notify'd to them, that the Affair has been under the Cognisance of an higher Court. In such a Case, could it be thought, that the Defendant was guilty of any Contumacy, or obliged to regard the Sentence of the Bailiffs? This Mr. Couper took to be just his Case, in Reference to the Synod and Presbytry. And here I will presume to add, out of the Respect and Affection I bear to one so unblamable in his Conversation, and so well qualify'd above the ordinary Rate, for the Pastoral Office, that it might have been expected, the Brethren wou'd have dealt more tenderly with him. and winked at some little Breach in the Ecclesiaftick Forms of their Discipline, rather than depriv'd the Church of his Labours, in fuch a luncture, while there's fo great a Penury of pious and wife Pastors, as must be confess'd.

After all, supposing Mr. Couper to be as guilty The Sum of as is pretended; yet how will the gross, or the Defendant's Con. heinous Contempt objected be made out against tempt of me. It is very clear, that not only my Accu-ft ands in sers, but also the Brethren, make my Crime to one single consist in administring and partaking of the Eucharist with him. It will then incontestably appear, that I can be charg'd with no Contempt of Authority, for the Space of full 19 Months, after Mr. Couper was sentenced; and that, at the utmost

utmost and worst, my grand Miscarriage lies in one fingle Act. The Communion was cele. brated here, Aug. 94, and then it was my Tour to confecrate the Elements. Now M. Couper not being excommunicated, had a a Right to Lay. Communion; and it could be no Contempt to vouchsafe him the common Benefit of the Faithful, which, I think, will not be deny'd. Again, Aug. 1695, we had the Holy Sacrament, when it was Mr. Couper's Lot to have the Adion. I did then indeed communicate with him. very readily and chearfully, without any the least Scruple or Hesitancy. So that the Sum Total of my Contempt of Authority, whether Civil or Ecclesiastick, stands on this one single Act of Homage and Devotion, in shewing forth the Death of our bleffed Redeemer, according to his Command. And must this be reputed a Crime of fo deep a Dye, and malignant a Nature, as to be inexpiable by any thing less, than the treating of me, as the most obnoxious and vilest of all the Pastors in this Province, and making a Sacrifice of my Credit and Charge, to the bitter and unchristian Resentments of a Party!

A wise and And now to shut up this Point, I will venuseful Doture to use a little of my wonted Freedom, with
the Breall due fraternal Kindness and Respect, and
thren.
commend to my Brethrens serious Thoughts, a
wise and useful Observation, or Document,

out

out

nun

Fac

rim

Ex

and

we

ftu

too

ent

eac

Bai

kee

Br

Ne

Au

via

quu

gen

ces

om

the

pri

Lit

Sup

mi

me

fed

Ma

out of the famous Moralist; Magna pars homi- Sen. de num est, que non peccatis irascitur, sed peccantibus. c. 28. Faciet nos moderatiores respectus nostri, si consuluerimus nos: nunquid & ipsi aliquid tale admissimus? Expeditne nobis ifta damnari? But the Mischief and the Mifery is, that Men, and perchance, we of the Clergy, as much as any, affect and fudy to be Strangers to our felves, verifying too well the ingenious Fancy of the witty ancient Pagan, concerning two Wallets affign'd to Æfop. each of us, one of which we carry on our Backs with our own Faults, and the other we keep perpetually in our View, hanging on our Breafts, with the Slips and Follies of our Neighbours. Upon this Conceit, an elegant Author makes a very just Reflection: Hac re Phæd.1. 4. videre nostra mala non possumus: alii simul delin-fab. 63. quunt, censores sumus.

Upon the second Article, viz. Supine Negli-Concerning gence. The Committee judges, that my Defendant's Succes exoner me not from Culpable Negligence, in pine Negliomitting Publick Catechising for four Years, or gence. thereby. This Verdict cann't but be very surprising to such as will take the Pains to read the Libel, and my Answers. I am charg'd with Supine Negligence by my Accusers. The Committee Men had not the Considence to asperse me with the Guilt of that. And indeed, blessed be God, the most critical Momus, or even Malice it self, can upbraid me with no such

2

d

d

of

1.

b

d

t,

ut

I V

req

Re

If I

not

one

the

11

do

he

pe

lo

fu

fu:

R

10

th

pr

fu

no

tò

m

th

fa

fu

W

d

1

Miscarriage. So that, as to this Point, the Brethren were constrain'd by the Force and Evidence of Reason, or by plain Shame, to assoil me. Here then to talk of Culpable Negligence, is manifestly absurd, sensless, and impertinent. I never pretended to vindicate my felf from all Kind, or Degrees of Negligence. And I am perswaded, there's no intelligent, serious Minister in Christendom, but will confess himself Culpably Negligent in all the Parts of the Pastoral Office. Had it been, or cou'd it be prov'd, that confidering my present Circumstances, I was Supinely Negligent in the Duty of treating with, and instructing particular Persons (which is the great End of Catechizing, and the proper Work of a Catechift) ! fay, not for four, but for one Year; nay, for one Month; nay, for one Week (to descend no lower) I should not complain of the severest Censure that might be inflicted on such Delinquents, by the Canons of any Reform'd Church whatfoever.

Of Subscribing the Confession.

We are now come to the Report concerning the first Instance of my Unsoundness, or Heterodoxy, viz. My refusing to subscribe, the Confession of Faith. Here the Committee sinds, that seeing I was jealous'd of Unsoundness, my refusing to subscribe, except in a qualify'd Sense, gave just Ground to heighten the Jealousy. Now it's plainly imply'd, that

was suspected of unsoundness, before I was Concerning requir'd to subscribe. There was then some dant's be-Reason for such a Jealousy, or there was none. ing suspect-If none, the Jealousy was unreasonable, and so soundness. not to be regarded. If there was, it had been, one wou'd think, very just and equitable, that the Reason should have been made known, and I heard upon it. And this not having been done, how cou'd there be just Ground for heightning a Jealoufy, while it doth not appear, that there was any Cause for their Jealoufy? Did I not evidently fliew, that my refuling to fubscribe could be no just ground to suspect me of unsoundness? Since I gave a solid Reason for such a Refusal, viz. That there was no Law obliging me to subscribe; as certainly there was not in the Year 90, when I was first profecuted before the Presbytry. Did I not The Comfurther plead, that so far as I knew, there's yet mittee overlook'd no Law binding me to subscribe, unless I was what he to be assum'd into the Government? The Com-pleaded for mittee seems not to have taken Notice of any thing of this kind, which looks not very like fair honest dealing. And for my offering to subscribe in a qualify'd Sense, they knew very well (for I had expresly declar'd so much) I did this out of pure respect to Peace, and for removing the very least Umbrage of Jealousy. This they also pass over in Silence.

1-

S,

s,

LA-

nat

I was indeed, after long and tiresome Atten.

call'd be dance, call'd before the Committee, first on Committee the 18th, and again on the 19th of June, and on two se belabour'd with Query upon Query, with a great deal of Ferrency and Keenness, as I was

great deal of Fervency and Keenness, as I was afterward in plain Synod. At my first Compearance, the two Brethren, who appear'd and reason'd most with me, were Mr. Hog and Mr. Logan, tho' they had been excepted against by the Gentry of my Parish, and were not chosen Members of the Committee. This I a little resented to the Moderator in private: Whence it came, I suppose, that at my next Compearance, the two zealous Gentlemen sat silent.

He was interrogated on three Foints.

There were three main Points, the Committee infifted on. 1. What is the qualify'd Sense in which I was willing to fubfcribe. My Anfwer is not truly and fully represented. For I not only faid, I could not now give an exact Account of the Terms, in which I had condescended to fubscribe; but withal, I told them the reafon of this, viz. That I had not the Paper about me, containing those Terms, (which I drew up, at a Gentleman's desire) and durst not adventure, from my Memory, to relate them, the Matter being So nice and delicate, that the very altering a Word might be of great Moment. There's not a Syllable of any fuch thing in the Report. deed undertake, as the Committee confesseth, to procure the Paper immediately upon my returning turning home. And yet they found my Answer a mere Shift, or Pretence, to gain time.
I cann't, being conscious of my own Sincerity,
but look upon their rash judging, as a bold
Violation of Truth, and a plain Breach of Charity. However, I took care to recover the
original Paper of the Terms, I offer'd, together
with the Letter, written to the Gentleman on
that Subject, both which shall be produc'd,
when call'd for. \*

\* See App.

There was another thing, at which the Com- sea. 9. The Committee took Offence, as the Report bears. I mittee ofhad said, That the Brethren themselves wou'd not fended say, it's necessary to believe every single Proposition Cause. in the Confession, to be a divine Truth. was interpreted to be a Reflection upon the Brethren, who had subscrib'd it, and on this Church, which hath appointed it to be fo fubscrib'd. But how such a Construction can be put on my Words, I do not fee. If it be true, that every Proposition in the Confession is not necessary to be believ'd, as a divine Truth, then, fure, it cou'd be no Reflection, to affirm, as I did, and still do, that the Brethren wou'd not fay the contrary. It's no Disparagement, I suppose, to embrace the Truth; but a villanous Baseness, knowingly to contradict it. Now the Brethren did, and must confess, that every Proposition in the Confession is not a Fundamental Point, and confequently, not necessary to be believ'd. Besides, why might not the Bre-E 2 thren

thren look upon every Proposition in the Confession, as a divine Truth, (tho' not Fundamental) and fo liquido subscribe it, without judging it necessary to be believ'd as fuch by every Body else. Sure they will be afham'd to assert, that all others are bound to believe precifely what, and as they believe. This were the very heighth of Self-conceitedness, Arrogance and Folly. Common Sense or Reason, sufficiently instruct us, that our believing or not believing, fuch Points to be true, or false, is no more a solid Argument to others, for believing, or not believing, as we do, than the Belief, or Disbelief of those others, is a good Ground for our Belief, or Disbelief. And for reflecting on this Church (I suppose, they mean the General Affembly) which hath appointed fuch Subscriptions, it's evident, fince I did not reflect on any one fingle Brother, that it cann't be imagin'd, I reflected on the whole Body. And besides, I doubt very much, if the General Assembly has appointed the Confession to be fubscrib'd in any such Sense. And tho' I had faid, that this Church has err'd, in impofing Subscriptions too rigorously (which I did not) it cou'd not be justly taken, as a peculiar Reflection, too many other Churches having, perhaps, exceeded due Bounds, in their Impofitions, as well as ours. And doth not the

C. 25. St. Confession itself plainly teach us, That the purest Churches are subject both to Mixture and

th

er

be

he

go

**S**w

m

us

G

d

tl

C

N

n

P

t

Error; and that all Synods and Councils, fince C. 31. § 6. the Apostles times, may err, and many have erred, and that therefore they are not to be made the Rule of Faith, or Practice. And hence it seems very clear, that our keenest Bigots for the Confession, do contradict, or swerve from its avow'd Doctrine, while they make it the Standard, or publick Test, amongst us, of Soundness in the Faith.

2. Whether I believ'd all the Articles in the Confession, to be agreeable to the Word of God, or if I thought any Proposition therein dissonant therefrom. My Answer, That I thought not my self oblig'd to examine the Confession, (being concern'd only about the Matter of my Libel) was judg'd by the Committee to be a shifting, or declining to give a Proof of my Soundness in the Faith, of which the Confession is the publick Test in this Church, as they affirm'd. And therefore it was resolv'd to screw Subscription yet higher. And so I was interrogated.

3. Whether I wou'd subscribe the Confession of Faith, as the Confession of my Faith, in all the Heads and Articles of it, and renounce all contrary Doctrines and Tenets, or not? I stood where I was before, representing, that my Business was to answer my Libel only, which I thought contain'd nothing of that Nature. Now who may not here remark the Brethrens strange The Brefondness for that Formulary, and their Arbitorens Fondness of trary their Confession.

fron, and arbitrary posing it.

trary Way of pressing Subscription to it? Had way of im. I ever fet my felf to disparage, or decry it. there might have been some Colour for extolling it, in fo exorbitant and uncharitable a man-But without any Provocation, or just Ground, they will not allow me (and, by necessary Consequence, no Body else) to be reputed Sound in the Christian Faith, or a sincere Protestant, if I subscribe not the Confession in their Sense. What shall be thought of our Reform'd Church, for above the Space of 80 Years, before this Confession was adopted by the General Assembly, Anno 1647; and for above more, before this peremptory manner of imposing it, was introduc'd by Church-men? Were our Superintendents and Pastors then all unfound in the Christian Faith, or the Principles of the Reform'd Religion? Or were all the Propositions of the Westminster Confession judg'd necessary to be believ'd, as divine Truths, before it was in being? It feems, that Confeffion is not in fo great Vogue among the Reform'd abroad; for otherwise how has it happen'd, that to this Day, (so far as I have been able to discover) it hath never been joyn'd and printed with the Body, or Harmony of other Protestant Confessions? I know not indeed, what can be faid in this Case, but that our Church is more wife, zealous, orthodox and pure, than all the Reform'd Churches beside. A point, I think, can scarce be modestly own'd, and wou'd

The bigb and vain Pretences of some.

A

not

am

to

WC

mo

Ch

m

m

lia

ra

p

te

0

V

t

not, I suspect, be very easily believ'd; nay, I am sure, such proud and consident Pretenders to be the Standard of Wisdom and Purity, wou'd be laugh'd at, and condemn'd by all the more knowing, sober and judicious Part of Christendom.

And as to my particular, how could the Committee, or Synod urge fuch a Subscription on me, as is neither warranted by an Act of Parliament, nor by any Constitution of the General Assembly, so far as I know? When Complaints have been made to fome grave Presbyterian Ministers, of the Severity and Rigour of their Impositions, they flatly deny'd there was any fuch Matter, and affirm'd, that nothing was impos'd, but what is contain'd in the Act of Parliament. Now it's certain, tho' those good Men might be ignorant of it, that generally both Presbytries and Synods, on all occasions, impose and exact above what's appointed by any Law of the Land, or act of the Church. And by this arbitrary and tyrannical Way of dealing, what a mighty Difcourage-chief of imment is given to not a few hopeful free Spirits, posing on that might, and would ferve their Country Mens Con-(that stands in so much need of them) in the holy Ministry, if they cou'd be admitted upon fair and reasonable Terms! Now our Synods Conduct is a fufficient Evidence, that our Ecclesiastick Judicatories, stretch their Power

E 4

above

above Law, as I have affirm'd. Let my Brethren produce, if they can, an Act of Parliament, or a Canon of their Kirk, empowering them to require Subscription to the Confession, in those Terms, they prescrib'd to me. And here I solemnly and sincerely protest, that The Deser-what I have said, or may further say, springs

The Defen-what I have said, or may further say, springs to his Coun- not from any Resentment for the Usage I have try, and met withal, but from the Love I bear to my Peace of Country, and the passionate Desire I have, to the Church see the Breaches of this poor divided Church

Peace of Country, and the passionate Desire I have, to she Church. see the Breaches of this poor divided Church reconcil'd; her inveterate Distempers cur'd, and Truth, Piety and Peace establish'd and flourishing amongst us. But I cann't imagine, that ever such happy Essects shou'd be produc'd, by making Human Composures the Standard of Orthodoxy, or Soundness in the Christian Faith, or the Resorm'd Religion. I earnestly intreate that the two Passages I have cited out of Bishop

See App. Davenant, and Mr. Home, concerning Confessions. 6.

Where Da. ons, may be seriously and impartially weigh'd; venant's and particularly these Words of the Latter, and Howe's (who, being a Presbyterian, may by them be of Confession more regarded) — "And that, while we can may be a look upon an Agreement therein [Schemes, 124d.

" or Collections of Doctrine] as a sufficient Character of one sound in the Faith, we do

" profess to reckon every one of the Things

"therein contain'd (without distinguishing their Importance) necessary to that purpose.

ar And

K A

" be

" m

" W

" a

66 b

u B

a t

her

ry

of

"

"

"

"

66

"

"

"

"

"

"And do never intend our Communion shall be limited by other Bounds, than an Agreement in those Things for Doctrinals, which we take to be of such import and necessity, as without the Belief whereof a Man cannot be a sincere Christian; which certainly cannot but be a very few, less disputed things, &c."

To confirm this momentous Point, I will here subjoin the Testimonies of two other ve-worth's ry considerable Divines; the one, a Defender Fudgment. " By the The Reliof Prelacy, the other a Diffenter. " Religion of Protestants, I do not understand, gion of Protestants " faith Mr. Chillingworth, the Doctrine of Lu- a safe way, " ther, or Calvin, or Melanchthon, nor the Con- &c. Part I. " fession of Augusta, or Geneva, nor the Cate-Lon. 1638. " chism of Heidelberg, nor the Articles of the " Church of England (I presume he would have " added, nor the Confession and Catechisms of "Westminster, had they been then extant) no " nor the Harmony of Protestant Confessions; " but that wherein they all agree, and that " which they all subscribe with a greater Har-" mony, as a perfect Rule of Faith and Actions. " that is, the Bible. The Bible, I fay, the Bi-

"ble only is the Religion of Protestants."
Whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable Consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of Opinion, but as matter of Faith

c and

" and Religion, neither can they with Cohe " rence to their own Grounds, believe it them. " felves, nor require the Belief of it to others. " without most high and most schismatical Pre-" fumption." Thus far he. I know that People are taught by their Guides, to look on the Confession, as an Explication of the Bible. To avoid contending, let it be fo, tho' it is not. But still, I must judge whether it be a true, found and good Explication, before I receive it; and I may, and ought to prefer a better, if I meet with any fuch. And this cannot be deny'd, fince it's confess'd, that the Interpreters were not infallible, and that a few, yea, one single Man, may judge righter, than a whole Council of Divines. It has been faid likewise, as I have heard, that the Confession is the Scripture in other Words. But what need is there of other Words? Are the Words of Men's Invention more proper, clear and comprehensive, than those of the Holy Ghost? Is not God's choice of Words preferable to Mens? And what if the Words of Mens Composures, be found opposite to the Words of Scripture? This saith Rom. vi. expresly, that Faith is counted for Righteousness. c. 11.5. 1. The Confession affirms the quite contrary. God's Word tells us, that Christ tasted Death for The Confession, our Brethren every Man. maintain, teaches, that he died only for the Elect. In this Cafe, it will require, I think, no great delibera-

Word Let

> he ha be pr Assen

count

requi to pu be fi

got Bool

him) left to a

he he Conf

> a Ti that not

usef Re

ope

Jud of

endap

me

its

n

t.

leliberation, whether we should use God's Words, or Mens.

Let us now hear Mr. Baxter relating a very Baxter's emarkable Passage, to our purpose, in the Ac- Fudgment ount he hath given us of his own Life. After westminhe had been prevail'd on to write an Epistle, to ster Confes. be prefix'd to the Works of the Westminster Catechisms Assembly, he entrusted it to the Bookseller, as to the requiring him to put it in other Men's hands, Imposition. to publish, or suppress, as they pleas'd, but to see his be fure to print all or none. The Bookfeller Part I. got Dr. Manton to put an Epistle before the Pag. 122. Book, who inferted Mr. Baxter's (not naming him) in a different Character, into his own, but left out a part, which it feems was not pleafing to all. The Words left out are these; that he hoped the Assembly intended not all in that long Confession, and those Catechisms, to be impos'd as a Test of Christian Communion, nor to disown all that scrupled any word in it; if they had, I cou'd not have commended it for any such use, tho' it be useful for the Instruction of Families. This, the Reverend Author declares, he thought fit to open, lest he be there misunderstood. The Judgment of four fuch Divines (perchance, of any one of them) will be esteem'd of Weight enough, by the Wisest of both sides, I am apt to believe, for counterballancing the Sentiment of the Committee, or ev'n of the Synod itself.

In my Answer to the Third Instance of Un-

In the Report there's no Censure pass'd on m No Censure pas'd on the fecond Answers to the fecond Instance of my Unfound Instance of ness, viz. Concerning what I taught about the Unfound -Power of Free-will, tho' fome Brethren of the mels. Presbytry here, and the Committee at Kircaldy jangl'd more than enough on that Head.

Concerning Schifm.

the Defen soundness, I am judg'd by the Committee to ving char- have unjustly charg'd the Presbyterians in my Presbyteri- Parish with Schism, and to have misapply'd the an Parishi- Arguments in the Seasonable Admonition. It was oners with easy for the Brethren to say so, and it's as easy for me to deny it : And have I not good reason fo to do, till they prove the alledg'd Injustice? And here I do folemnly promise, that as soon, as it's made out, that I have done the good Folks here an Injury, I will not fail to makes due, just and publick Reparation. In the mean time, tho' it's thought hard, and I am not oblig'd to prove a Negative, yet I will essay to shew that I have done them no Injury. Nowif it be true, that they are Schismaticks, I suppose it will be granted, I have done them no Injury in charging them with Schism. Let the Committee then ponder what the Commission of the Kirk says in their Seasonable Admonition. To withdraw constantly and customarily from Communion with a true Church and Congregation of God's People, in his publick Worship and Ordinances, when found in Doctrine, and pure in Worfing, who impose

Pag. S.

o Corr

ion, i

resby

ure, a

he str

nd P

Prov.

eliev

he P

nd c

re g

so fa

ppl

certa

the r

Disc

part

in :

mo

the

ctic

mi

It I

ref

ple

tir

th

m fo

b

the

ldy

Jn.

to

my

he

as

íy

n

?

d

n

t

o Corruption, Error, or Sin, as Condition of Commuion, is a great Sin (which both Prelatists and resbyterians call Schism) contrary to clear Scripure, a stumbling Block to the Weak, a Grief to he strong, a Prejudice to their own Souls who do so, nd provoketh God to blast all private Means. rov. xxviii. 9. and hardens the Wicked and Unelieving, and scareth from the Way of God. But he Presbyterians in this Place, did constantly nd customarily withdraw, &c. Therefore they reguilty of a great Sin, even that of Schisin. So far as I am capable to judge, there's no mispplying of the Commission's most clear and ertain Proposition, which seems to comprize he main Scope and great Design of the whole Discourse. But now, if things be duly and impartially scann'd, I apprehend, it will be found, in Effect, that the Brethren themselves, are The Prefmost injurious to the poor silly People, while byterian they justify, both by their Doctrine and Pra-most injuctice, a Separation, which is as scandalous and rious to the mischievous, as it's causeless and unaccountable. It highly then concerns the present Guides, to reflect on that Word of the Prophet, O my People, they which lead thee, cause thee to err; and in time to confider, how they will answer it to their own Consciences, and which is infinitely more dreadful, to the God of Peace and Love for their being so instrumental and inslexibly bent, to maintain and propagate a fatal Schiffin,

least

wha

hav

mat

the

or

unj

Sch

ftil

utr

of

ea

M

an

ot

re

a

W e:

t

t

H

I

1

to the great prejudice of Mens Souls, toth Reproach of the Christian Religion, and toth obstructing and defeating the Projects, and I deavours, for commencing and carrying on most necessary and excellent Work, The Rein mation of Manners.

The Defen- There's yet one point very remarkable in the ged with Committees report here, viz. that I my felfan schism by guilty of Schism, as having made Defeding

the Com- from the Purity of this Church and her Original pertinently, Constitution, founded upon the Word of God and falfly- and oppos'd my felf thereto; in which Defeli on and Opposition I still continue. This wa first objected to me in the Conference, in July 1700. The Committee, it feems, has approved and adopted that Notion; For till I faw the Report, about a Year after the Conference, heard no more of any fuch Charge against me Nay, I had fome Ground to believe, that there were Brethren, whom it troubl'd, that I wa not a Schismatick; as it's said to have affilm others among them, that they had nothing to object against my Life and Conversation. How ever, I will not eafily believe, that any of my Brethren are posses'd and governed by such Diabolical Spirit. But to return to the Committee, with their Wisdoms good leave, their Charging me with Schism is exteamly Imperti They have out done my Accusers them felves; In the Libel there's not the remotest of leaft least Infinuation of any such Crime. And then, what they object is as false as it is impertinent. I His band have been indeed look'd on by some as a Schis-Fate. matick, for joyning in Religious Offices with the Presbyterians; (with a fair shew, perhaps or some colour of Reason, tho' I am perswaded unjustly,) but to be upbraided as guilty of Schism by those, with whom I have, and do still keep Communication, notwithstanding the utmost Disobligations, is such a shameless piece of Falshood, Injustice and Bigotism, as is not easy to be parallell'd. How hard is my Fate! Must I ever be censur'd of both sides, whilst I am a hearty well-wisher to the one and the other, tho' a Stickler for neither ? I do herein rejoyce, yea, and will rejoyce.

But doth not the Committee prove me to be The Coma Schismatick. They do indeed offer at some-mittee's what like reasoning here; a Thing so rare and to prove extraordinary (bare Words and Votes being Schifmatheir great Strength and Security) that it's fittick. to be confider'd. Their Argument put into Form, amounts to this; whoever has made Defection from the Purity of this Church and her Original Constitution, founded on the word of God, and oppos'd himself thereto, and still continues in that Defection and Opposition is guilty of Schism; ButMr. Grame hath done so; Therefore, &c. Whether the Committee intended here to hale in the point of Church

A Touch a- Church Government, I can't fay. Surely there's Govern- no great Reason for their being Fond of that Controverfy. They have work enough of that The Defen kind in hand already. For my part I think dant more there's another matter of much greater Imporfor another tance, than wrangling about Models of Eccle. fort of Go-fiastick Policy; I mean the Art of rectifying vernment: our Opinions and governing our Passions and Actions, according to the Laws and Life of our Saviour, and the Dexterity and Care to instruct and affift others to do fo to. This I take to be

reterted.

The Com-bout Church Government. So that now I mittees Ar- judge it enough to tell the Committee-Men, fwer'd and that I deny both the Proposition and Assumption of their Argument. But if they resolve to be Stiff and Opiniatre, as to the Proposition, which is fo Dark, Confus'd, Ambiguous, and Disputable, in its several Turns or Clauses, I am content to let it pass, provided that the Asfumption be chang'd thus; But the Presbyterians have made Defection from the Purity of Therefore, &c. When they the Church, &c. have answer'd their own Argument, now turn'd against them (which, I apprehend, can hardly be well done without taking notice of a cer-The F. C. tain Book, that's very unpleasant, because it gives the Brethren a deadly Pinch) my Opi-

the most important Business of every Man, and

more especially of Pastors. I have therefore

never much interessed my self in the Debates a-

nion

nic

of

the

of

Br

th

co

an

D

th

E

ar

tl

te

F

in

tl

n

nion of many) it will appear, I believe, to be Referr'd to of no Force against me, In the mean time, let byterians, the more sober, discreet and intelligent Men whether the of the Presbyterian Party, judge whether their here, or the Brethren, or I, have done most for, or against Defendant, the Peace of the Church; I, who by my Distor against courses and Advices, in publick and private, Peace. and by my practice and example, backing my Doctrine, have study'd to heal the Schism; or they, who have contriv'd and us'd their utmost Efforts, by all means, to encourage, soment and perpetuate it.

The fourth Instance of unfoundness relates to Concerning the Covenant, or what I cited out of a Presby- the Defenterian Pamphlet (Scotland's present Duty) on a flesting on Fast Day. The Brethren seem to have been toti the Covein fermento, when they examin'd my Answer to nant. this Point. And we were taught, when School-Boys, that Anger fpreads over the mind a Cloud, which intercepts the Beams of Truth: Impedit ira animum, ne possit cernere verum. In Effect the Committee stumbles at every Step, and mistakes in every part of their The Passages cited by Censure. The Passage, I cited, they say, is him out of false, unjust, and grossy Scandalous. But whe-Scot. Pref. Duty vinther of the Passages aim they at? For there are dicared. two, as may be feen in my \*Answers to the Li- \* see App. bel. To make fure work then, I fay there's nothing to the best of my understanding, false unjust, or in the least Scandalous, in either of

the

of

th

N

to

ir

the Passages. The Committee adds, that its a malicions Reflection upon the Designs of our renowned Ancestors, who were honoured of God to be instrumental to the Reformation of this Land. Now. for my part, I cannot discern the least Sem. blance or Foot-step of malicious Reslexion upon any Wife or Good Man. Whether those Ancestors of ours were instrumental in reforming this Church, or Kingdom, in medio rem relinquo. I fear, it will be found, that such a great and noble Work, is scarce yet well begun. But certainly the more active or steady, any Order, or Rank of Men have been, in fetting on foot, and advancing a true, uniform Christian Reformation, the more gratefully and affectionately ought their Memory to be celebrated and honoured. At last the Committee concludes their Censure thus; " that my citing it [the " foresaid Passage] upon a Fast-Day, appoint-" ed by the General Assembly, for lamenting 4 Breach of Covenant, and without contradict-" ing it, is really not only an eluding the Act of the Assembly for humbling for Breach of Covenant, but also a wicked, bitter refle-" cting upon, and aspersing of the Covenant." That I cited such Passages on a Fast-Day, set apart, &c. was so far from eluding or shifting the Order for the Religious Observance of it, that I did cite them on purpose, to comply with the Order, and that in fincerity and fingleness of

of Heart. And here I cannot but admire, why Thechurch's the Committee did not mention the Act of his Power ex-Majesty's Privy Council, appointing the Fast to such, as to be observ'd. For they certainly know, that are not Members of in this Matter, I was absolutely sway'd by the it direct Civil Authority. And if they will judge fairly ly and imand impartially, they must acknowledge, ac-according cording to their own Maxims and Practices, that to the Presa mere Act of their Church can lay no proper, themselv s. direct and immediate Obligation upon those, who are not Members of it. In the late times there were feveral Presbyterian Ministers conniv'd at, and tolerated in this Shire; (as I have been credibly inform'd) fuch as the Reverend Mr. Greg at Balmerino; Mr. Hamilton, at Pittenweem; Mr. Adam, at Anstrutber; Mr. Forret, at Kinnuchar; Mr. Carmichel, at Markins; and Mr. Melvil, at Kinglassy. And the same Favour was vouchfafed to others, in other Parts of the Kingdom. Now it's very well known, that they look'd not on themselves, as subject to the Acts and Orders of the then Presbytries, or Synods, or of the Bishops themselves. Nay, had there been a Convocation of the Clergy, the Presbyterian Ministers wou'd not have thought themselves interessed, or concern'd in the Canons, or Conftitutions thereof. The Brethren then, I suppose, cannot in Reason and Equity deny that to me, which they claim and assume to themselves.

The Defendant's difinteress'd am blam'd for not contradicting what I cited. Conduct in I cou'd not, I durst not contradict, what seem'd reference to the foresaid to me true, just and inossensive, as what I ap-Pamphier. prov'd in those Passages undoubtedly is. What

appear'd otherwise, I stood not to censure and reject; as when the Author affirms, that the Covenant was the highest and most folemn piece of Reformation, that ever this Church and Nation attain'd unto: For it must be confess'd, that mere Covenanting, is not Reforming, but a Step, or Introductory to it. Besides, this Nation's renouncing Popery, and embracing the Protestant Religion, was a much higher and greater Piece of Reformation, which, I prefume, will not be contested. For my wicked and bitter reflecting upon, and aspersing of the Covenant, it's a most groundless Imputation. If there be no Reflection in the Author's Words I cited, as I am fully persuaded there is not, then I am sure, I cannot be charg'd with reflecting, for repeating his Words, unless what was innocent from his Pen, becomes Criminal from mine, which can be known only to the Searcher of Hearts. And if I did not at all reflect, it's plain I did it not wickedly and bitterly.

Concerning But let us suppose, that the Author of the the Author Pamphlet has not been so cautious, as he ought, of the Pamand that some Expressions, concerning the Cophlet.

venant,

nant, have escap'd him, that are liable to Mistakes and Misconstructions; what is this to me? He is abundantly able, I doubt not, to answer for himself. And indeed, so far as I cou'd learn from his Discourse, he is a very firm and resolute Presbyterian, and as much for a nationally covenanted Work of Reformation as any. Pag. 23. So he himfelf expresly declares. Nor do I think he can be challeng'd, as a Man too Moderate. And tho' there were a strain of more than ordinary Temper, I hope that cou'd not be deem'd a Crime, but rather an eminent Christian Virtue, for which he shou'd be lov'd and commended. Whoever he, and whatever his Discourse The Commay be, praise or blame-worthy, it cannot but mittee and feem a piece of bold and strange Presumption Presumptiin our Committee, and Synod too, that they on, in Cenventur'd to upbraid, really and in effect, no less furing what than two General Assemblies, with a kind of ral Assem-Lukewarmness, or Indifferency, in so weighty blies overan Affair. The first was sitting, when the Book was publish'd. The other was held the next Year: And yet neither of both has Cenfur'd, or Condemn'd, either the Pamphlet, or the Author. But our grave and learned Synod, must affect to surpass General Assemblies themfelves, in Wisdom and Zeal. Let them then be as wife and zealous as they lift; yet I hope, they will not vote every Point in that Discourse F 3 to

they

vide

F

OWI

erro

the

uni

tha

tri

ap

L

tv

p

a

What the to be naught, or Scandalous. And the PalDefendant
approv'd. fages I pitch'd upon, I'm confident, must be
unexceptio held altogether unexceptionable, viz. That the
nable.
Pag. 14. Covenant was a most serious and awful Engagement
Pag. 17. of the Nation, to Christianity and Godliness; and
that to renew our Baptismal Covenant nationally, is
what no Christian can disclaim: And ali should be
content to joyn in this, till we be more unite in our
Sentiments as to Government.

It has been suspected, that some of our The Source of the quar-Church-men's Quarrel with the Author of Scotrel egainst the Author land's present Duty, is for somewhat else, than o the Pam his pretended reflecting on the Covenant. Men 10.01. conjecture, that the Spring of all the Indignation and Spite against him, is, that he so warmly espous'd the Honour and Interest of our Country in the Affair of Caledonia; that he Pag. 18, fo honestly and stoutly pleaded on its behalf; 19. and that he fo boldly and roundly represented to some leading Men among his Brethren, their Time-ferving, their Trimming, their Juggling, their Worldly mindedness, their vain Ambition, and double Actings, when fo much was at Srake.

The next Instance of Unsoundness, or of the Extent Error and Scandal, is concerning Redemption. of Christ's And here the Committee first reduces, what I have avow'd on this Head, to six Articles, every one of which, I do acknowledge, is to be found in my Answers and Defences. And then they

they set down their Censure, which they di-The cominitiees vide into three Branches.

Censure

From whence (that is, from the Articles I threefold. own and profess) it appears, 1. That I judge The first Branch of erroneoufly, that Christ died for all to whom the Censure the Gospel comes, and that they are bought with Now I profess, this is to me a Price. unintelligible, and feems to be contradictory, that, by my judging fuch and fuch Points to be true, it doth appear, or can ever be made to appear, that I have judg'd erroneously or falsly: Let the fix Articles be taken one by one, or be twisted and combin'd together; place and tranipose them, as you please; I think my believing and professing them to be true, will never be a proper Medium to prove them not to be true. What I hold to be true, they may, perhaps, evince to be false. But this must be done by fome other reason, than by my having judg'd it to be true. And if it be the Committees meaning, that they can prove by some good solid Argument, that I have judg'd erroneously in the point of Redemption, this, I confess, is easily understood: But then, they have express'd their mind very injudiciously, or darkly and enigma-Let us now fearch for their Proof: If there be any fuch thing here, it must be in this Clause of the Report; whereas the orthodox Do-Strine is, that our Lord died in the Room and Place of the Elect only, and that these only are bought with

a Price, who shall certainly and infallibly obtain Sal-How selid-vation. The Force of this Reason, amounts ly the Committee rea. just to thus much; Mr. Grame judges erronefons on this oufly, that Christ died for all to whom the Go-Point. spel comes, &c. because his Doctrine is not

Orthodox. And so in the last Result, this is their Proof, he judges erroneously because he judges erroncously; or because he differs from his Brethren, who (you must not doubt) hold the orthodox Doctrine: And is not this a most clear, folid and invincible Way of Reasoning? Logicians call it, I think, petitio principii, or begging of the Question. Here the 20 nouvemeror, or Point under Debate, is, whether of the two Opinions ought to be held Orthodox. Wou'd it not be highly abfurd and fenfeless, for me to pretend, that my Opinion is Orthodox, because it's opposite to what's Heterodox? Must not then the Committee confess, it's no less against Sense and Reason, if they think to prove my Judgment Erroneous, because theirs is Orthodox? The only Way to decide the Way to de- Matter among us Protestants, is, to examine it by the Scripture, which is the common receiv'd Rule of all reveal'd Truths, or Orthodoxy. And next, it may be enquir'd, ex superabundanti, what have been the Sentiments of the great Lights, Guides and Doctors of the Church, in all Ages, about the now controver-

The true cide the Controver-Sy.

ted Dogma.

But

B

that

the

fitio

diec

And

call

in t

wh

onl

Ch

and

Ch

Pla

thi

int

an

an

nin

est

6

6

E

m

2

77

ſ

But before I proceed further, it's to be noted, The Comthat the Committee hath alter'd the Words of shang'd the the Question. They ascribe to me this Propo-Terms of fition, which I very heartily own, that Christ fion. died for all to whom God fends the Gospel. And to this they oppose another, which they call the Orthodox Doctrine, viz. Christ died in the Room and Place of the Elect only: But why did they not fay, Christ died for the Elect only? Or do they make a Difference, between Christ's dying for us, and dying in our Room and Place? If the Brethren will grant, that Christ died for all (tho' not in the Room and Place of all) to whom God fends the Gospel, I think the Controversy is at an End, or turn'd into a mere Logomachy. For to die for us, and to die in our Room and Place, is really one and the same thing. A learn'd Professor at Gro-Mares, and ning, makes use of the same Distinction; Aliud Dall Vind, est plerosq; nostrorum largiri, juxta Gomarum, quod Part III. & nos largimur, posse dici, Christum pro omnibus pag. 396, & singulis esse mortuum, sed essicaciter pro solis 397. Electis; aliud, Christum loco omnium & singulorum mortem subuffe. Dall. replies, apertissime falsum est, aliud esse, Christum pro omnibus & singulis esse mortuum; aliud, Christum loco omnium mortem subusse. Quid enim, quaso, est inter ista discriminis? Mortem subusse, non abnuet credo, idem esse quod mortuum ese. Jam & in hoc negotio, pro aliquo idem esse, quod alicujus loco, nemo opinor (qui

tallg

with

that

am i

to t

the

upol

may

mitt

I be

side.

for

emb

mor

Not

fess'

agai

of t

form

ver

Arr

reco

as a

one

plo

tiqu

mer

of i

A

(qui quidem Socinianus non fuerit) negabit. ergo est, quod Christum, quem pro omnibus mortuum largitur, pugnat tamen, non omnium loco mortem Subusse? Profecto utrumq; pariter aut concedendum, aut nevandum est.

This Propo-Now to return to the Point in hand, I fayit fition. Christ died must be prov'd by Scripture, that this Proposionly for the tion, Christ died for the Elect only, or in the Elect, not to be found Room and Place of the Elect only, is true or in the orthodox. But I dare confidently affirm, that Scripture. from the Beginning, to the End of the Bible,

That be there of firm'd.

there's no fuch thing to be found in plain and express Terms; whereas it's evident beyond died for all, Contradiction, that, according to the Scripture, he died for all Men, and consequently, for all those, to whom God sends the Gospel. So that I can as clearly and infallibly prove by the Word of God, that Christ died for this and that particular Person, without Distinction, between Elect and Reprobate, as I can, that this or that particular Man or Woman, without Respect to Age, Nation, Quality, &c. shall rise from the Dead. Who can, or dare venture to assign any individual Person of the whole Race of Mankind, to whom it might not have been faid, or a Minister of the Gospel may not say, ex certitudine sidei, God so lov'd thee, that he gave his only begotten Son, that if thou believest in him, thou shouldst not perish, but have everlasting Life? This is what I believe, profess, and have taught, taught, concerning the Extent of Christ's Death, with reference to all and every one of those, that have been under my Charge. And this I am fully persuaded is a divine Truth, according to the plain, certain, and constant Tenor of the Gospel. And yet, I am far from taking upon me, to judge or condemn those, who may be of another Mind.

e

1

1

1

)

S

t

e

C

As for human Authority, whether the Com- Human Temittee be for Suffragia numeranda, or ponderanda, stimonies. Ibelieve the Advantage will be clearly on my side. I have already inform'd them, where, Jo. Dall. for one Member of their Committee, which has Apologia embrac'd the rigid Hypothesis, they may find adversus more than ten ancient and modern Divines of Exerc. Note and Reputation, who believ'd and pro-Amstel. fesi'd the quite contrary; I mean, Dall. Apology against Spanhem. The Author is esteem'd one of the most learn'd Divines, that ever the Reform'd Church of France enjoy'd. And he is very well known to have been a declar'd Anti-Arminian. And I do the rather adventure to recommend his Book to such of the Brethren, as are capable to understand it, because he is Blondell. one of the French Triumvirate, that hath em-Salmas. ploy'd their profound Skill in Ecclesiastick An-Dallaus. tiquities, on behalf of Presbyterian Government. And if any be disgusted with the Bulk of his Book, let me intreat them to peruse one

Disfertat.
de morte
Christi;
qua tenus
ad omnes
extendatur, &c.
Canterb.
1650.

of Davenant's, shorter by far, but no less sold and nervous. This Author was famous thro all the Reform'd Churches, for his eminent Learning, his rare Piety, his Pacifick Temper, and his excellent Writing. And I think no fincere Lover of Truth will reject, or difregard it, out of his Mouth, or from his Pen, because he was a Bishop. However, he had the Honour to be one of the Fathers of the Synod of Dort, who concurr'd in condemning the Arminian Articles. If my Brethren will be at the Pains to difenthral their Minds from all Prejudices, and attentively read both, or either of those Books, I am apt to believe, they will, at least, remit a little of their great Fervour, and peremptory Dogmaticalness, about the Extent of Redemption. But if they will not duly and feriously consider what is faid against, as well as for their Hypothesis, they can never thoroughly understand the Matter, nor judge impartially concerning it.

But perchance the Committee will incline in this Case, to have Votes weigh'd rather than number'd. To gratify them here too, I shall produce the Testimonies of a few Divines, whom, I suppose, they highly value. Nay, I am consident, they will take it for no Diparragement, if I say, that the Suffrages of those two or three, whom I vouch for me, may be

laid

laid

pro 1

1

Mu

plur

[en]

qua

com

desi

Cer

Etu

inc

he

wh

an

of

de

hi

as

bu

for

"

66

"

46

66

laid in the Ballance against the whole Synod

pro re nata, at Coupar.

ro

ent

ber.

ſin-

ard

ufe

10-

0

mi-

the

ju-

of

nd

nt

nd

ell

0.

n-

in

an

all

es,

I begin with the incomparable Mr. Calvin. Ad Matt. Multos ponit non difinite pro certo numero, sed pro XX. 28. pluribus, quia se alus omnibus opponit. Atq; hoc sensu accipitur, Rom. v. 15. ubi Paulus non de aliqua parte hominum agit, sed totum humanum genus complectitur.

Sub Multorum nomine non partem mundi tantum Ad Matt. XXVI. 28.

designat, sed totum genus humanum..

Multos dicit pro omnibus, sieut ad Rom. v. 15. Ad Heb. Certum quidem est non omnes ex Christi morte fru-ix. 28. dum percipere: sed hoc ideo fit, quia eos impedit sua incredulitas. Many other Testimonies might be cited out of this Excellent Author. what I have brought may fuffice, being fo pat, and on Passages, that are commonly made use of to Limit, and confine the Amplitude of Redemption.

The next Testimony shall be out of a Book Continuahighly and justly valu'd by our Presbyterians, tion of P's as appears by the new Edition of it at Edin-on Heb. ii. We find there the Phrase, tasting Death 9. Lond. for every Man, thus explain'd; "To render 1685.

"Sin remissible to all Persons, and them salva-

" ble, God punishing Man's Sin in him, and " laying on him the Iniquity of us all, Isa. liii.

"4, 5, 6. 1 Joh. ii. 2. And so God became

" propitious and pleasable to all; and if all are not sav'd by it, it is because they do not re-

ec pent

er pent and believe in him, 2 Cor. v. 19, 20, 21,

" Comp. Joh. x. 15.

ADilcourse The third and last Author, shall be the Faconcerning the Extent mous Monsieur Claude, who purchas'd to hime of Christ's self immortal Honour, by defending the Pro-Death,&c. testant Cause, with so great Learning, Eloquence and Reason, against the ablest and politicst Catholick Pens in France. I shall here select some Passages out of a short Discourse of

P. 32, &c. his, lately printed in our Language. " When

" the Scripture says, Christ died for all, it

" cannot fignify fimply, that his Death is of

" fuch infinite Value, that it cou'd, if God fo

" pleas'd, be extended to all. To understand

" it in that Sense, it might be as well said, that

" Christ died for Devils. — But the Scripture

" no where fays any fuch thing. -- It's clear,

" that the Term for, denotes not a fimple suff-

ciency of the Price, but some certain Desti-

" nation of that Death, both by God and Jesus

" Christ for all. How can that Passage, Heb.

" ii. 9. That he by the Grace of God, &c. be ex.

" plain'd by this Distinction. For to say, that

" the Apostle means only, that the Price of

" Christ's Death was so great, that it was suff-

" cient to expiate the Sins of the whole World,

" if God had so pleas'd, is mere Mockery; for

" the Apostle attributes that Death of Christ

" for all unto the Grace of God; whence it fol-

" lows, that there must be a certain Destina-

cc tion

4 ti

" L

" n

11 C

u ti

" t

46 t

v. g

66 t

" I

a t

16

16

"

11

6.

"

66

66

66

66

"

66

66

46

"

"tion of that Death for all; for otherwise the Universality of the Death of Christ, would

" not be the Effect of God's Grace."\_\_\_

" The Scripture speaks of a certain Love of P. 39, 60

"God for Mankind, which Divines call Philan-

" thropie, by which God put some Difference be-

" tween Men and Devils; And the Effect of

" that Love is, that he hath in some manner

" given his Son to Men, whereas he hath en-

"tirely deny'd him to Devils. This is that

" Love spoken of Joh. iii. 16. - Now it's cer-

" tain, that this Philanthropie - is of much lar-

" ger Extent than Election, and cannot agree

" with that Hypothesis, which owns none for

" the Objects of Christ's Death, any manner

" of Way, but only the Elect. For if God

" had treated the greatest Part of Men with

" the same Severity, that he hath treated De-

"vils, and that the Death of Christ is no

" more for the one, than the other, then there's

" no place for this Philanthropie, and in vain

" hath the Scripture reveal'd it, and attributed

" to it, the fending of Christ to the World." -

" They who follow the Rigor of that Opi- p. 41,6%.

"nion, however learn'd they may be, are "much puzzl'd, when they are ask'd the Rea-

" fon, why God calls all Men-indifferently to

" the Faith of the Gospel. For, on the one

" hand, they cannot deny, that the Preaching

" of the Word, and external Vocation, which

66 in-

of much

sent then

Election.

11

46

"

16

11

"

33

"

"

"

"

K

"

66

"

6

4

(

4

-

" includes a Command to all those, to whom " it's publish'd, to believe in Jesus Christ, and or presses that Duty upon them, with the pro-" mise, that if they believe, the Death of The Death " Christ shall be for them, and procure to them of Christ is the Pardon of Sin and Salvation; - On the larger Exother hand, they cannot deny, but that call " comes from God, ev'n as it's addressed to Per-" fons, who do not answer it. - There are " then these two Truths certain; One, that many, who are not Elect, are call'd, with " an Obligation to believe in Jesus Christ, and to imbrace his Death : The other, that that " Call, cometh not from Men by Accident, " because they know not who are Elect, but " it comes from God himself, and is made by " his Order. There is a Third no less certain, " which is, that fince God proposes and offers the Death of his Son to them, that are not " Elect, it must in some manner, be defign'd " for them; otherwise the Offer would be illu-" fory. To fay, what God doth in this, is on-" ly to render them more inexcusable, does " not satisfy the Argument, but begets grie-" vous harsh Thoughts in Mens Minds, con-" cerning the Conduct of God. - For is it " not most certain, that, when God offers the " Death of his Son to Men, he commands " them to accept of it; he presses and exhorts "them to it, by all Considerations, of their cc own

m

0-

of

m he

all

r-

e

it

h

d

t

wown Salvation? This Call and Command " cannot beget in the Minds of any, be who " they will, any other thought but this, that "that Death is a Remedy, which God, out " of his Pity towards them, has provided for " them, and that he hath design'd to bestow it " upon them indeed, in Case they accept it. " To fay then, that it is not fo, but that God " offers a Death to them, which is not de-" fign'd more for them, than for Devils, and " which will not at all fave them, even tho', " by an impossible Supposition, they should " accept of it. That he offers it to them, I " fay, by a Principle of Hatred, on Design to " discover more and more their Corruption, " and aggravate their Condemnation, is truly to fay fomething fo strange, that Christian " Ears cannot well bear. I confess, that the " Effect, which the Preaching of the Gospel " has upon those Unbelievers, is such, that it "does but discover more and more the great-" ness of their Corruption, and aggravates "their Condemnation: But that is only the " Confequent, or Effect that happens; but it " cannot be faid, that it's the prime and im-" mediate End that God proposes; for the " prime and immediate End of a Law-giver is " not, that the Law may be violated, and Ju-" flice thereupon executed; on the contrary, " his End is, that the Law may be observ'd, and

" Favour, a Token of Kindness and Mercy. " Neither can they deny; but God goes some " farther, and gives to those, who are not " Elect, many internal Graces of his Holy " Spirit, to wit, great contemplative Know. " ledge, fuch as Judas receiv'd, and many " false Teachers have had, and many others, who have been eminent Persons in the Visi-" ble Church: yea, very confiderable Begin-" nings and Dispositions to true Faith. -"Mean time, they must needs say, that God gives all these by a Principle of Hatred, and for executing the Decree of Reprobation -" which certainly is the Thing in the World, " most contrary to the Thoughts we ought to have of God, according as the Scripture reor presents him, and our Religion conceives of " him."

This point concluded.

Let now our Committee ponder things maturely, as they ought. I know not if they will a little relent, or rather resolve to anathematize the Tenets, I have describ'd, and put a Brand of Infamy on the Names and Memories of the Authors. In the mean time, my Brethren may assure themselves, that I am very well pleas'd to have a Share in the Fate of such Divines, and that I reckon it no Disgrace, but an Honour, to be condemn'd by Men, who condemn they know not whom, nor what.

out

jeE

ou

ar

11

46

66

66

33

be

N

h

h

g

11

10

0

1

I

t

2. The Committee fays, That I alledge with- The second out any Ground; that this Error was never ob- the Censure. jested to any in the Christian Church. ought to have retain'd my own Words, which are thefe; "What follows is a most surprizing " Instance of Scandal and Error, and such as, "I believe, was never objected to any Man in " the Christian Church ; viz. I affirm'd, that " Christ died for all and every one of my Hea-" rers, and that the Reason why they are not " all fav'd, is, because they fulfil not the " Condition." I hope it's no great Crime to be mistaken (if indeed I am so) in such a Matter of Fact. But if the Committee would have faid any thing to the Purpose, they shou'd have nam'd fome one, or other, who was charged with fuch a Scandal and Error. Till they make it appear, that what I alledg'd is groundless, I think I may still believe as I did. In v. scrip. the mean time, I will Instance in one, who was Ecclesias. condemn'd and depos'd, for holding, among Hist. Liter. other things, their opinion about Christ's Death. Cave. pag. It was Gotteschalchus, about the middle of the 128,529. ninth Century.

3. The Report bears, That I am so uncharitathe the third ble, as to affirm, that none that maintain the Branch.

Truth, opposite to this Error, do read or bear the Gospel without Prejudice. But the Brethren do not condescend where, or when, lutter'd any such Words. And I do not yet refer to the grant of the condescend where the condescend wher

" Favour, a Token of Kindness and Mercy. " Neither can they deny; but God goes some farther, and gives to those, who are not " Elect, many internal Graces of his Holy " Spirit, to wit, great contemplative Know. " ledge, fuch as Judas receiv'd, and many " false Teachers have had, and many others, who have been eminent Persons in the Visible Church: yea, very confiderable Begin-" nings and Dispositions to true Faith. -"Mean time, they must needs say, that God gives all these by a Principle of Hatred, and for executing the Decree of Reprobation -" which certainly is the Thing in the World, " most contrary to the Thoughts we ought to have of God, according as the Scripture reor prefents him, and our Religion conceives of -« him."

This point concluded.

Let now our Committee ponder things maturely, as they ought. I know not if they will a little relent, or rather resolve to anathematize the Tenets, I have describ'd, and put a Brand of Infamy on the Names and Memories of the Authors. In the mean time, my Brethren may assure themselves, that I am very well pleas'd to have a Share in the Fate of such Divines, and that I reckon it no Disgrace, but an Honour, to be condemn'd by Men, who condemn they know not whom, nor what.

out

ject

ou

are

11

66

33

be

M

ha

h

g

m

le

t

C

0

I

r

ł

5

t

2. The Committee fays, That I alledge with- The second out any Ground; that this Error was never ob- the Censure. jested to any in the Christian Church. ought to have retain'd my own Words, which are thefe; "What follows is a most surprizing "Instance of Scandal and Error, and such as, "I believe, was never objected to any Man in " the Christian Church; viz. I affirm'd, that " Christ died for all and every one of my Hea-" rers, and that the Reason why they are not " all fav'd, is, because they fulfil not the " Condition." I hope it's no great Crime to be mistaken (if indeed I am so) in such a Matter of Fact. But if the Committee would have faid any thing to the Purpose, they shou'd have nam'd fome one, or other, who was charged with fuch a Scandal and Error. Till they make it appear, that what I alledg'd is groundless, I think I may still believe as I did. In v. scrip. the mean time, I will Instance in one, who was Ecclesias. condemn'd and depos'd, for holding, among Hist. Liter. other things, their opinion about Christ's Death. Cave. pag. It was Gotteschalchus, about the middle of the 528, 529. ninth Century.

3. The Report bears, That I am so uncharitathe the third ble, as to affirm, that none that maintain the Branch.

Truth, opposite to this Error, do read or bear the Gospel without Prejudice. But the Brethren do not condescend where, or when, lutter'd any such Words. And I do not yet regarder.

of Wisdom, he never contradicteth, of clasheth with his moral Virtues. Now it's " certain, if the Death of Christ, in it's first destination, were only for the Elect, and " belong'd no manner of way to others, God's " fincerity would be violated, in causing it to " be offer'd to others than the Elect. Why? " Because that offer, he makes them, being ta-" ken in the common and ordinary Acceptati-" on of a fincere Offer, supposes that the Thing " offer'd, is design'd for them, to whom it is " offer'd, and that they accepting it, as they " are commanded, it shall actually be theirs, "But if the Death of Jesus Christ be no more " for them, than for Devils, there can be no " fincerity in the Offer that is made of it to " them, nor in the Command to accept of it; " for that Offer and Command supposes a falsis' ty, to wit, that nothing hinders that Death " from being actually theirs, but their not ac-" cepting it. I say this supposition is falle, " for befides their accepting, there's wanting, " the Intention of the Father, who hath not " at all defign'd that Sacrifice for them, and the Intention of the Son, who, in offering " himself a Sacrifice, has formally excluded " them from being objects of his Death."

He confirms his Doctrine by an Argument from the order of God's Decrees. For he P.97, &c. expressly asserts, that the sending of Jesus Christ to

of

fti

pr

T

ye

an

pl

de

Po

ri

th

A

4

4

"

"

4

to the World, is to be consider'd, in the Order of the divine Decrees, as anterior to the Distinction God made of Men into Elect and Reprobate. This, he fays, he has prov'd in a Treatife of Election and Reprobation. yet, because it's of the greatest Importance and Decisive in this Question, he doth here explain and establish it at some length. And indeed he had good ground to fay, that this Point is decifive in the Matter, fince hereby is discover'd the grand original Mistake of the rigid Anti-Arminians, and the very Basis of their System is undermin'd and demolish'd. And so our Author might well argue, as he doth, " That if the Principle of fending Jesus Christ P. 108,60. " had been, not a common Mercy and Kind-

" ness, but a particular Mercy to the Elect;

" not a Philanthropie, but an Electophilie, as they such as " speak in the Schools, it's necessary to say, that understand

"God offers his Son to them, that are not En may con-" lect, by a Principle of Hatred, that he hath original,

" against them, and that this offer, which he in the third

" makes, is a means which he uses, for execu- Tome of the " ting the Decree of their Reprobation. - Works,

"He calls those Persons to Repentance exter-publish'd by bis Son, " nally; he offers them the Death of his Son, at Amit.

" and invites them to receive it, by hope to 1688.

" find Remission of Sin and Eternal Life in it.

" Now they [the rigid Divines] cannot de\_

" ny, but all this, of its own Nature, is a

G 3

" Men may live by observing it. - God hath co plainly declar'd, and that with an Oath; As c Ilive, faith the Lord, I have no Pleasure in the Death of the Wicked, but that he turn from his " Way and Live. There can nothing be ima-" gin'd more contrary to these Words, than to fay, that the only End God proposes in " making the Law of Grace to be Preach'd to many, is to give them an Occasion to disco-" ver the greatness of their Corruption, and to render them by that Means the more inexcusable, when he shall condemn them. "This also no ways agrees with 1 Tim. ii.4, 5. " nor with 2 Pet. iii. 9. and yet less with a 70h. xii. 47."

Among the Places of Scripture he cites, to prove that Christ died for all in general, he remarks and insists on those, from which it P. 71, &c. may be evidently concluded, he thinks, that Jesus Christ died for such, as reject his Death, and consequently are not of the Number of the Elect; particularly 2 Pet. ii. 1. Heb. vi. 4, &c. Heb. x. 26, &c. on that celebrated Passage to Titus, The Grace of God that bringeth Salvation un-

P. 80, &c. to all Men, he reasons thus, " How can the

" Grace of God be faving to all Men, if the

" Death of Christ, which is the Source and

" Foundation of that Grace, be limited and

" restrain'd in it's first Destination, to the Elect

only? I confess it's not saving unto all Men,

ee lo

"

"

"

46

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

" fo as actually to fave them; but it must, at " least (that that Expression may have some "Truth) render Salvation possible unto all, " so as nothing hinders, but their own incre-" dulity and Wickedness, that it becomes "not actually saving to them. To the same "purpose, (faith he) are all those Passages of "Scripture, which, tho' they bear not the Note " of Universality, to apply it to the Death of "Jesus Christ, yet they clearly enough imply " it, such as I Tim. i. 15. Matt. ix. 13. Joh. i. "29. And finally, all those general Propositi-" ons, that are found in Scripture, bearing, " that whosever believes shall be saved.

He rejects the Fancy of those, who pretend, P. 83, 606. that because God will have his Election secret, and the Elect are mingl'd with the Reprobates, therefore it's necessary to preach the Gospel to the one and the other. So that when the Death of Christ is offer'd to Reprobates, it's only by accident. This I say, he rejects, " First, because if it were so, we would find " some express Declaration of it in Scripture. " How cou'd it be, that God shou'd do such a " thing in his wife Dispensation, to preserve " his Election secret, and not give Men any " Notice thereof? And whence is it, that they " who fet forth this fo strange Mystery, and " hard to be comprehended, have it? - Be-" fides, when God acteth by any Dispensation

104)

member, nor have lighted on them. Sure I am, I do not love to entertain uncharitable Thoughts of any Man living. And really I apprehended, that my Brethrens main Quarrel with me was, that I had too much Charity. but too little Faith.

The Committees Cen ure the laft Instance of Un ound ness, as to Forms of Prayer in Families.

The Report concerning the last Instance of Scandal and Error, as to the Use of Forms in concerning Family-Prayers, feems to me ridiculously trifling. I cited a Passage out of a Book, writ by Dr. Patrick, adding that I cou'd not conclude But then I fay the Point better, than with it. there's no Applause? And what then? Is there any Contradiction here? May not one quotea Passage, as very pertinent to his purpose, without Applause or Commendation? And what tho' I had commended, or applauded the Saying of that excellent Doctor, who hath done so great Service to Religion, by his many learn'd, judicious and pious Writings, which contribute so much to promote the Knowledge of the Scripture, and the Practice of folid Christian Virtue? Must I therefore be censur'd, or fo much as fimply blam'd? Befides, have I not expresly told the Brethren, that if the Testimony of that worthy Author be offenfive to them, it may be expung'd, without the least Prejudice to my Cause.

The

T

read

to h

the

And

tees

of v

has

we

vir

qu

"

16

n

B

( 105 )

The Report concerning my Process being The Defendants and to hear my \* Address read, which I had put in \* see Asp. the Committees Hands, on the 18th, of June. Seet. 7.

And Parties being again remov'd, the Committees Remarks upon the said Address were read, Remarks of which I can say nothing, because the Synod on it conhas thought sit (upon what prudential and weighty Considerations, such as please may divine) to conceal them.

The Synod being met, their Moderator ac-Jun 20. quainted the Gentlemen and me, that " we Hor 7. " were desir'd by the Synod, to say what we The Gen " had further to add, before the Synod go on to tries and Defendant " a Determination in this Affair," as the Mi-Demands, nutes bear. Upon this Invitation Sir Alex. upon the Bruce, as the Mouth of the Gentry crav'd, as I vitation. also did, that the Report of the Committee might be read to us. And I further pleaded. that the Synod might be pleas'd to Specify the Acts of this, or any other Reform'd Church, by which I was to be judg'd. But before our The synods Demands cou'd be consider'd, the Synod accor-vote, upon ding to a Resolution taken at the last Sede-of the Comrunt, proceeded to a Vote upon the Report of mittee, exthe Committee. And so the Question was Stated thus; Whether the Excerpts of the Committee be just, and their Judgment concerning the several Articles be right and true. They meant, no doubt, whether what the Committee had cull'd and

1645. Feb. 7. Seff. 14.

fembly approv'd the Judgment of this Commit. tee, in all the Articles thereof, and ordain'd them to be observ'd in all time coming. It's notorious, the Brethren here trample upon the Authority of that Assembly in their common Practice, to the Scandal of Religion, and the Grief and Disturbance of the best dispos'd and pious Souls. The Directory for the publick Worship of God was agreed to, and approv'd, in all the Heads thereof, unanimously, and without a contrary Voice; and it was decreed and ordain'd, that it be carefully and uniformly observ'd by all the Ministers within this Kingdom, as may be feen in the Acts of the Assembly. Now the Directory declares the Reading of the Word in the Congregation to bea Part of the publick Worship of God, and one Means fanctify'd by him, for the Edifying of his People, that all the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, shall be publickly read in the Vulgar Tongue; that it's convenient, that ordinarily one Chapter of each Testament be read at every Meeting, and that it's requisite, that all the Canonical Books be read pag. 11,12. over in order, that the People may be better acquainted with the whole Body of the Scrip, tures. And yet is it not obvious, that the Directory, the Appointment of the General Affembly and the Practice of Presbyterians in the late Times, are utterly difregarded at prefent,

Feb. 3. Seff. 10.

Direct.

Edinb.

1645.

1645.

in

in th

hip

A

on t

foth

out

the

of I

pro

cha

fo

us'

VO

lic

A

as its

W

no

W

CE

in this very important Part of divine Wor-

(hip?

And as the Brethren act in direct Oppositi-Instances on to, and plain defiance of publick Orders, fingular so they stand not to take peculiar Ways, with- Ways and out any Countenance or Approbation, from without the the Constitutions of their Church, in Matters Allowance of no small Moment. For example, can they of their Kirk. produce an Act of any General Assembly difcharging the use of the Lord's Prayer, which, fo far as I know, has ever been, and still is us'd all the Christian World over? Or can they vouch the Authority of this Kirk, in any publick Deed, warranting them to lay aside, in the Administration of Baptism, the Apostles Creed, as it's commonly call'd, and to substitute in its Room, the Westminster Confession, together with the larger and shorter Catechisms, to fay nothing of the Solemn League and Covenant, which some are not asham'd to add also? This certainly is a most insolent Piece of Presumption, to make a new Gate, at which we must enter into the Church of Christ, and to devise and impose new Terms and Conditions, upon which we must be admitted into the State of Christianity. For so far as I have been yet able to learn, there's no Church under the Cope of Heaven, (besides theirs) where consenting to the Creed, with a Promise to live according to it, is not judg'd sufficient to give a Right to Baptism.

of the proper Season. One may then be very well assurd, that the Synod's Vote was not the Fruit of a Prayer, not yet address'd to the Au. thor and Donor of all Good.

The Synods answer to the Gentries and the Defendants common Demand.

In answer to the Gentries Demands and mine it was First voted, that the Report of the Com. mittee should not be imparted to the Gentlemen. And then, it was likewise carry'd by Votes, that the faid Report should not be made known to How easy was it for the Synod, to me. prevent the Imputation of having proceeded rashly and foolishly in this point, by hearing what could be faid against the Committees Report, before it was approv'd unanimously? But what can be said or done, if Men be obstinately bent to fee with the Eyes of others, and shut Their Anf. their own? For my other Request, about con-

wer to his peculiar Demaud.

was to be try'd, by a Vote of the Synod, this Answer was given " That they shall endeavour Pag. 5.

" to build their Sentence, whatever it may be, " on fuch Grounds and Reasons, from the

descending on the Laws or Acts, by which I

" Word of God, and the Acts of this Church's (it is like they meant the Word of God, and Acts of the Church, but neither the one nor

the other was mention'd to me) " for which "they shall be answerable to their Superiors."

His Senfe of their Anjwer.

Now with the Synods good leave, this Answer, I must say, is a silly transparent Shift, a piece of mere Mockery, or indeed of plain Tyranny,

Sent

tion

Chu

stitt

for

Ger

tha

ma

tw

of

th

tr

A

21

tl

n

t

1

ry

he

le.

n.

sentence, without convicting me of the Violation of the Canons of this, or any other Church, and tho' they knew no Act or Constitution, by which they cou'd reach me. And for being accountable to their Superiors (the General Assembly no doubt) they presum'd, that wou'd be no hard Task; (and yet they may be mistak'n) the Competition being between the Name of a Synod, and the Innocency of an Episcopal Incumbent.

It will not be improper here to observe, that Instances of the Brethren, at least in this Part of the Coun-the Bretry, bewray a great Aversion, if not a perfect travening Antipathy, against being restricted by Rules the Ass of and Canana and and and and are Southed by Rules their Kirk. and Canons, enacted and prescrib'd by their own Kirk. It cannot be thought very strange that they have proceeded Arbitrarily against me, if they flight and despise express Constitutions of General Assemblies, and follow singular Courses, without any publick Authentick Order from their Superiors. A Committee of a General Assembly judg'd, that when the Communion is to be celebrated in a Parish, one Minister may be employ'd for assisting his Brother, or at most Two; and that he, who cometh to assist, shou'd have a special Care to provide his own Parish, lest otherwise, while he is about to minister Comfort to others, his own Flock be left destitute of Preaching. The General Asfembly

and pick'd out of my Papers, was really in them; and whether their Verdict upon the feveral Articles was well grounded, or just. The matter being put to the Vote, Approve, or not? It carry'd unanimously, Approve.

The Synods Approhation of the Report blind or implicite.

Now how true their Excerpts (to use their own word) were, and how well founded their Judgment concerning the feveral Articles, Irefer to what is above represented in my Revisal of the Report. But whatever the Committees Excerpts, or their Verdict, on the feveral Points, may be in it felf, I think it will very evidently appear, that the Synods unanimous Approbation was blind or implicite. For the Report confifts of Matters of Fact and of Right, As to the former, how could the Synod, with understanding, Vote unanimously the Report to be true, if the Excerpts and my Papers were not duly collation'd by every Member of the Synod? Or if every Brother did not diffinctly remember, how I had treated and expres'd the feveral Articles mention'd in the Report? And I am very fure, no fuch thing can, or will be pretended. Besides, it might, perhaps, be added, that all the Members of the Synod did not well understand what was propounded in my Defences. And then, for the latter, the Point of Right, fince the Committees judgment is grounded upon no Law, nor built upon any Reason, the Synods Approbation must needs be

unrea-

unre

ing

tee

righ

cau

Sen

Beg

Sen

mo

ma

COI

for

or

it

ca

N

bi

fo

h

il

1

unreasonable, or blind and implicite, amounting just to thus much; we think the Committee has judg'd right, because it has judg'd right, or the Committees Verdict is just, because it is their Verdict. Let any Man of Sense peruse the Report, and try, if from the Beginning to the End of it, he can discern any Semblance of Reason, or so much as one Testimony of Scripture, or one Act of an Assembly made use of, for supporting the Committees confident and imperious Dictates. It's therefore most plain, that, if there be any thing false or unjust, in the Report, the Synod has voted it to be true and just, purely and merely, because the Committee has judg'd it to be so. Nor do I fee, how they can clear themselves, whether but by flying to the Light within them, or to can pretend fome peculiar Inspiration, and to their Minds to extraorhaving been irradiated by Seraphic Enthusiastic mination. illapses. Had the Synod begun this Day's work with that folemn Prayer, for Light and Affistance, which was poured out immediately before the final Decision of the Process, there might, perchance, have been some fair Pretence for an Extraordinary Illumination, enabling them to discover Truth and Justice, without the Exercife of Common Sense and Right Reason. indeed they feem to have mif-tim'd that piece of Devotion, neglecting it, when it was most necessary, and then betaking themselves to:it, out

Baptism. Whereas now among them, this and that Minister sets up his own private Authori. ty, imposes on Men's Consciences what he pleases, and in an Affair of the greatest Confe. quence, divides and feparates from the Communion of the whole Catholick Church on Earth. Mean while it's certain, that not one of an Hundred ever considers the three foresaid Formularies, or is capable to understand them: which aggravates the Brethrens Arbitrary manner of dealing, and in effect turns the Engagements of adult Persons, and of Parents, or other Undertakers for Infants, into a Mock Business, or a mere empty and hypocritical Formality.

Of the Apreal to the Parliament.

Immediately after the Synods Answers to our Demands, Sir Alex. Bruce, for himself, and a great many others, appeal'd from the Synod to the Parliament, and one of the Brethren entred a Protestation (to which the whole Synod unanimously adher'd) against this Deed of theirs I must pass by the Appeal, not being in the

dant not intereffed in it.

The Defen-least concern'd in that Affair. However, I was pos'd, if I adher'd to it. And I ingenuously declar'd, I had no hand in it. And indeed 1 was so far from any thought of adhering, that when I discover'd the Design, I endeavour'd to dissuade from the Pursuit thereof. So that there was no ground to question me on this Point. But no occasion must be left, to catch and entrap one, whom my Brethren had

been

bee

her aV

thi

IV

tro

th

th

m

fr

fi

t

0

ind

rj.

he

fe-

m-

On

ne

id

1;

been so hotly, and so long hunting after. And The Synods here I must observe, that in the Minutes, there's restify'd, us a Word ascrib'd to me, which it's like the Bre- to his bethren have mistak'n. I am said to declare, that ing grie-I was griev'd at the Appeal. I was indeed Appeal. troubled, or griev'd at the strange Commotion that enfued in the Synod upon the presenting of the Appeal. There feem'd to be a great Fermentation rais'd in the Brethrens Breafts. They frown'd and clamour'd, as if they would have fwallow'd up the Appellants. At this I think there was reason to be troubled, as at an Excess or Transport of Passion, manifestly contrary to the gentleness and goodness of the Evangelick But, that Gentlemen took a Courfe, which I (who was not so capable, as they, to judge of fuch Matters) did notapprove, cou'd be no just Cause of Grief to me. Nor can I think the Synod had any ground to be so exasperated, fince, if the Gentry mistook their Measures, they gave the fairer Advantage, to run them down with strong reasons, without any dash or tincture of Indignation and Wrath. When I reflect upon this Part of the eager Contest, I call to mind, for my own Vindication. a Passage in the Gospel, where it is said, that our Lord looked round about on them Tthe Pharisees] with Anger, being griev'd for the Hardness Mar. iii. 5. [or blindness] of their Hearts. His Example

H

will justify ones Anger and Grief in some Cases. Not

His chari- Not that I would hereby infinuate, as if I table Thoughts, look'd on my Brethren to be Pharifees, or Hy-Wishes and pocrites. Far be it from me to judge so rashly Hopes, in reference to of what lies out of the reach and ken of all mere the Bre-human Understanding. I was indeed sensible of the Synods Exorbitancies in this, and other Instances; but still I charitably believ'd their Intentions might be upright, and so hop'd (as I heartily wish it) that God would pardon their ill Conduct, for the goodness of their Meaning.

Two other Demands of his.

There follow next in the Minutes, two other Requests of mine. 1. That the Synod before they proceeded further, might censure some Petitions, respecting on me, as no Gospel Minister. 2. That they would let me know, with what Articles they are dissatisfy'd, that I might give them what further Sa-

The Synods tisfaction I cou'd. To the first it was answer'd,
Answer to That they would go on in the Process, before
the First.

they consider'd my Demand. I conceived their

they consider'd my Demand. I conceived their Answer imply'd some kind of Intimation, that they intended to do it. And yet I pleaded, that they might declare their Purpose, to discuss the Point, relating to my Ministry, before they came to a final Sentence. And tho' nothing could be obtain'd, I thought it best, at present, to acquiesce and patiently digest their obstinate Refusal. As to my other Demand, it

And to the Obstinate Refusal. As to my other Demand, it second. was resolved, That the the Synod would not communicate to me their Committees Remarks, yet it should be signifyed to me with what Ar-

ticles

ti

ticles the Synod was dissatisfy'd, and I be allow'd to add, what further I had to say for their Satisfaction.

Is not this now a fignal and mighty Act of His Relent ment of Condescension! To be once more gravely and their unfolemnly Catechiz'd before fo Reverend and worthy, un-Learn'd a Judicatory ! or, as some call'd it, to and sham be brought before the Tribunal of the facred In- way of dealing quisition! To answer presently and positively with him. to whatever the Brethren should be pleas'd to propose! However, I resolved to dissemble and digeft, as well as I could, whatever I met withal. And yet I cannot but still resent the Brethrens unworthy and sham manner of treating me. They were content, for footh, to acquaint me with what Articles they were dissatisfy'd. But I needed none of their Information, as to this Point. For I knew (and it was spread thro' the Town) that they were dissatisfy'd with every Article, and gave out, that the whole Libel was prov'd, or confess'd. If they would have dealt fairly, they should have acquainted me with the Grounds or Reasons of their Disfatisfaction. How could I fatisfy them, who were distaisfy'd I knew not why? For I stood not convicted of any Transgression, that render'd me obnoxious to Cenfures, by any Ecclefiaftick Canon. And if they were angry and diffatisfy'd without reason, sure there was no reaion I should endeavour to satisfy them. And

tal

ra

It

in

T

p

offended, unless it be, that I am not of their Mind. But if this be a just Ground of their Dissatisfaction with me, I have the very same to be dissatisfy'd with them, who are no more of my Mind, than I am of theirs. And sure, they will not pretend, that they are one whit more the Standard and Rule of Truth and Justice to me, than I am to them. They are indeed my Judges by the Laws of the Land; but by the same Laws they are oblig'd to judge according to Law, and not left to domineer and tyrannize, according to their Will, Passion, Humour, or Interest.

But now as to the Points I was pos'd upon: Contempt of Contempt of Authority was first infisted on. Authority. To this, I hope, there's enough already faid. Only here Iremark, that what I added off-hand, is not truly represented. The main Point is not once mentioned, viz. How I pleaded, that Contempt is an Act of the Mind, which, I suppose, an no more be deny'd, than that common and receiv'd Word, honor est in honorante. And upon this I argu'd, that Contempt of Authority. which I absolutely disown, could never be fix'd upon me, unless some Law or Act were specify'd, declaring what I did to be Contempt, in my Circumstances. I was, and am still ignorant of any such Act or Law. Why did not the Synod inform me? To admifter and partake

take of the Sacrament, doth not, fure, naturally fignify or import Contempt of Authority. It must then be defin'd by some Law, or Canon, in what Cases it's to be interpreted Contempt. To fpit in another's Face, according to common Construction, and the Nature of the thing, plainly argues infolent Contempt, tho' there be no Law determining it to be fo. This cannot be pretended, as to my joyning in the Communion with Mr. Couper. Besides, the Brethren cannot but know, that it has been declar'd by grave and judicious Men of their own Side, that a Sentence past, clave errante, is Void and Null, and no more to be regarded, than if there had been no fuch thing. Let us put the Cafe, that Titus, a Minister, exemplary for Sanctity of Life, in Word and Deed, is depos'd, by a Factious Party, for Whoredom, Drunkenness, Curfing, &c. without any Evidence, or Proof, and notwithstanding the Sentence, he continues to Exercise his Office; and then, that his Collegue Sempronius scruples not, after his wonted manner, to join with him in all the Parts of folemn religious Worship. Let the Brethren now fay, in fuch a Case, if there was any Contempt of Authority, especially supposing the Sentence to have been pronounc'd by a Prelate, or a Prelatick Synod, against Presbyterian Ministers. As to what's added at the End of this Paragraph in the Minutes, viz. That

H 3

had

Ec

Br

th

fe

W

di

a

1

had the Brethren here warn'd me, I would probably have taken other Measures, I do now confirm, and further affure the Synod, that I wou'd certainly have taken other Measures, but neither deserted my Station, nor form'd a new Schism, nor ceas'd from any of my publick Ministrations.

Negligence fing.

I was next question'd about Culpable Negliin Catechi. gence, concerning which I need not to add one Word, to what has been first and last represented by me. But yet I cannot forbear to complain, that the Synod has here most disingenuoufly conceal'd and difguis'd what I propounded. The true Matter of Fact stands thus: When it was fignify'd to me, that all I had faid in my Answers, did not, in the Synods Judgment, free me from Culpable Negligence, in not having kept Diets, for publick Examination, for about four Years, I represented, r. That I was in the Libel charg'd with Supine Negligence, which vastly differ'd from what they call Culpable; and therefore, fince the Synod neither did, nor could find me Supinely Negligent, that they must absolve me, as to that Article. 2. That no Minister could pretend to be free of Culpable Negligence, in discharging any Part of the Pastoral Office. And here I made a Comparison between a very plain, express, positive Command of our Lord, (viz. to celebrate the Eucharist) and the Method of Catechizing, which is only of Eccle-

Ecclesiastick Institution; and then urg'd the Brethren, with a very common Neglect (among themselves) of the Sacrament, for five, fix, feven, nay for ten Years, and more perhaps, while they fo invidiously loaded me with the Neglect of a Human Ordinance, which yet I did not neglect, but observe, so far as I was able and bound, in my then Circumstances. Now why are not these Things recorded in the Minutes? Is this to deal bona fide? It was defign'd, it feems, to infinuate, that I difparag'd and slighted the Duty of Catechizing; whereas I only preferr'd the express Injunction of our Lord to a mere Human Constitution, fuch as the Form and Manner of Catechizing is. And indeed I am fo far from undervaluing of the Imthe Catechetick Work, that I look upon it as portance of a principal Part of the Pastoral Function; and fing. do heartily regret, that a Matter of fuch Importance is fo little understood, and so ill manag'd; and do earnestly wish to see our Catechisms revis'd, and that the Catechists themselves may be better Catechis'd.

On this Occasion I would, if I might with-Traité des Sources de out presumption, tell my Brethren of a certain la Cor-Book, done into English, out of the French, in ruption, qui regne which it was writ by the Author, and publish'd au jourd in Holland, 1699. It's a Treatise concerning the hui par Sources of that Corruption, which reigns at this Day Chrètiens. amongst Christians. In how great Esteem it is, Trois. Ed. A Amst. appears 1700.

H 4

appears from hence, that in a Year or two, there were three Editions of it. Of how excellent Use the Book may be to all serious intelligent Christians, but especially to Pastors, (in this most corrupt Age, notwithstanding all the Noise about Reformation) for instructing them in all the Duties of their Charge, and particularly about Catechizing, I will not take upon me to judge. But if the General Assembly would be pleas'd, after due Examination, to procure the Re-printing of the English Transcript.

Wish'd to be station, and to recommend the Book to Magirecommended by the strates and all intelligent Masters of Families,
General as well as to Ministers. I am persuaded, they
might do a very good Office to our Country,
and conciliate a great deal of Reputation to

themselves.

The Defen. Now to return from this Digression, (if it dant's concerne lne/s be one) to which I was incited by a passionate for the flour Desire for the Flourishing of pure primitive rishing of Christianity amongst us, without those violent the Heats and hellish Feuds, which have been bred and somented by our unchristian and scandalous

Contest; to return, I say, to our Purpose, In what 3. That the manner of Catechizing is, in a great Sense the Way of Ca. Part, to be referr'd to the Discretion of the Pastor. techising is Sure, it cannot be thought, my meaning was, to be lest that it's in a Pastor's Option, whether to Cadence of techize, or no. This I only intended, that, Pastors. when People withdraw from Ordinances, or

when

whe

Bur

the

and

fro

fro

tha

tu

as

th

ac

Ci

n

0

1-

3,

when Pastors, being overcharg'd with their Burden, are not able to do every thing, yet they ought to feek after those, who shun them. and to instruct Persons, especially young ones. from House to House; and when they are call'd from place to place, for visiting the Sick, &. that they should then lay hold on the Opportunity of treating personally, with as many, as they can meet withal, about their Duty and their everlafting Concernments. This has been my Care and Practice, which cannot, I think, according to any Ecclesiastick Canon, be reckon'd Culpable, and far less Supine Negligence; and will, I hope, be own'd by wife Men, as far more advantagious to poor People, than the vain Shew, Ostentation, and Parade, that has been made, in calling many together, and entertaining them with some dry, insipid, abstruse and useless Questions, without one Word about the particular most important Duties of the Christian Life.

As to the Subscribing of the Confession, I of Subscriwas told, that neither my Answers to the Libing the Confession. bel, nor to the Committe's Queries, had satisfy'd the Synod; and was then ask'd what I had farther to add. I do very believe, they were not satisfy'd, and that because it was resolv'd to be dissatisfy'd, and by all Means to find out Pretences, for heightning and fortifying their Dissatisfaction, in Spite of all Reason and com-

mon Equity. However, I intreat all candid
\* see App and impartial Men to consider my \* Answer to
sea. 5.
the Libel, and Revisal of the Report. But
here I must not pass by the Synod's pretending,
that I was bound by a Promise to give all reasonable Satisfaction, as to the Subscribing of
the Consession. Now from hence it appears,
how slightly they have read, or consider d my

In my An-Answers. The Words aim'd at, are these; If swer to the there be now any Law obliging all Incumbents whatstrict instance of soever to subscribe, I am very willing and hopeful,
the third after communing with the Brethren of this Presbythe Libel. try, or any other Learned Men in the Synod, or of
this Kingdom, to give all reasonable Satisfaction,

on the very Principles, we find in the Confession it

self? I am still willing and hopeful to make good what

was undertaken, upon the Terms I offer'd.

I was next interrogated upon the fecond In-Concerning Free will stance of Unsoundness (the Committee thought and Grace. fit to wave it) about the Power of unregenerate Men to do what's spiritually good, and if there was any Promise of saving Grace to their Endeavours. It was, and still is matter of Astonishment to me, why the Men wrangled and quarrelled about they knew not what, + see Apr. after I had so plainly and fully, in several + Pased. 5, 6, pers, afferted the Necessity and Efficacy of the and 11. divine Grace; and shew'd that Ministers are warranted, by the constant Tenor of the Scripture, to invite and press all their Hearers, to

obey

obey

those

terna

fer'd

Atin &

the (

And

\* Pa

that

need

of I

ren

oth

ons

giv

Ti

I

Wi

R

if

th

n

h

1

id

to

ut

g,

a-

of

S,

ly

If

f

obey the Gospel of our Lord, and to assure those, who comply, of Mercy, Grace and Eternal Life, for his Sake. Nay further, I offer'd to this very Synod, that I would give difind and direct Answers to all the Queries of the Committee at Kircaldy, if I were put to it. And indeed I had brought along with me a \* Paper for that Effect. But I faw very well, \* See App. that the Synod dreaded more Papers, and would sed. 10. needs have me to answer presently by Word of Mouth, which I was willing to do, in reference to every Article in the Libel: And for other Points, or emergent and incident Questions, what could be more reasonable, than to give me a new Libel, and assign me a competent Time to make my Defences?

For my having charg'd the Presbyterians here of charwith Schism, I have studied, by discussing the People her Report, to satisfy the Synod; but I know not with if I have contented them. In the mean time, Schism. they must pardon me, to put them in mind of a notable Instance of gross Partiality. They are highly displeas'd with me, for labouring to heal the Rupture in this Place; and yet they wink at a new Breach in it. A very zealous and leading Man among the Elders, (and one of my Accusers) openly and boldly oppos'd the Admission of Mr. Kemp, the present Presbytetian Minister of this Parish, and ever since, when he officiates, has separated, with some others,

from

fles

1 fee

tions

that

may

Nov

cont

it m

the

tho

And

ved

ter

hac

fta

no

the

ar

th

lie

gi

fo

10

d

0

W

P

from the publick Worship. Behold, how Men may be byafs'd by the Spirit of a Party, and how teeming and fertile in Diforders, the Factious and Schismatical Principles are!

Of what was quoted pref. Duty, touching the Covenant.

What I cited, out of a Pamphlet [Scot. pref. out of Scot. Duty ] about the Covenant, is another Ground of Dissatisfaction to the Synod. For pleasing them again, they may, if they lift, confult my Remarks on the Committees Report. But withal I must be allow'd to tell them roundly. that they have, in the Minutes, father'd on me

A falle Imputation on dant.

an impudent Falshood, viz. my professing, the Defen- that if I have followed an evil Guide [the Author of the faid Pamphlet I shall be wifer for the future. No fuch Words were uttered by me, no fuch thing ever entred into my Mind. On the contrary, I prefer that Author's Judgment, as to the Point in Hand, to the Verdid of the Synod, at Coupar, pro re nata.

Of the Extent of Christ's Death.

My having extended the Death of Christ to all, that hear the Gospel, was new Matter of Offence to the Brethren, notwithstanding all I had faid in my Answers and Defences; to which I will yet again refer, together with what is now added on the Report. I did indeed think, as I told the Synod, that 1 would not, any where else, have been challenged for such a Point of Doctrine. And I cannot but think fo still, because I conceive, and am convinced, that Christ commanded his Apoftles en

br

a-

es.

nd

g

17

ut

У,

le

r

n

fles and all his Ministers to preach it. Nor do Hee how the Gospel can be preached to all Nations and Persons, but upon this Supposition, that he came to be a Saviour to all those, who may be called and pressed to believe in him-Now it is certain, and will not, I suppose, be contested, that there is not one Soul, to whom it may not truly be faid, if thou wilt believe in the Lord Jesus Christ thou shalt be saved; if thou wilt not believe in him thou shalt Perish. And so it must be confessed, if Judas had believed in Christ, he had obtained Pardon and eternal Life; and if Peter had not believed he had been damned. For this is the very Subfance, or Sum of the Gospel. But then it is no less certain, that if Christ had not died for those, to whom such Promises and Threatnings are proposed, they could not be faved, tho' they should believe; nor be damned for not believing in him, as their Saviour, who was not There must be given by God to fave them. some fundamentum in re, some Ground or Reafon for the Connexion in fuch Conditional Propositions, Promises and Threatnings, Antecedent to, and independent on, the Performance or Non-Performance of the Condition. what else can we conceive that to be, but the pastum evangelicum universale, the Will and good Pleasure of God, that his Son should give himself a Ransom for all, and so render Sin remissible to

Sal

Fa

10

th

W

de

a

te

Sy

of

B

fu

th

N

t

n

i

I

1

t

all, and them falvable? which yet I have extended only to such, as are favoured with the Light of the Gospel, without ever venturing to pry into the inscrutable Mysteries of God's Occonomy towards the rest of the World. I may be mistaken in Reasoning thus. But I have the Stream of the ablest, both Ancient and Modern, Divines for me. And besides, I am very willing to be instructed, and ready to yield to the Force and Evidence of Reason, and do again profess, as I formerly did; errare possum, have tiens essential.

Matters
misrepresented in
the Minutes, by
adding and
substracting.

To return to the Synod, I was ask'd, if Christ died as a surety in their Place and Room, to whom the Gospel is sent, and purchas'd Pardon and Salvation for them? So it's in the Minutes. But truly there was no such Question Propos'd. They have added these Words (which, I am sure, were not once mention'd to

Heb. 17. 22. me) as a Surety. Now fince this Word is only once, fo far as I know, apply'd in the New Testament to our Saviour, it ought to have been us'd as it's there. And then the Query must have run thus; if Christ died as a surety of a better Testament [or Covenant] in their Places &c. And my Answer shou'd have been, and shall now be, just what it was, with their Additions; viz, Christ died as a Surety of a better Covenant, in the Room and Stead of all those, for whom he died, and purchas'd Pardon and Sal-

en.

the

to to

Oe-

nav

the

rn.

vil

the

ain

ere-

if

m,

ar-

Mi-

ion

rds

to

nly

ew

ave

ery

y of

la.

en,

eir

et-

se,

ind

al-

Salvation for them conditionally, upon their Faith and Repentance. And here, as I have noted what the Brethren added, fo I must put them in Mind what they have Substracted, with no very great appearance of fair honest dealing. I mean the Contest, that was about See the addition! Paa Passage, I had cited out of Dr. Twisse, who per in the teaches the very same Doctrine for which the Appendix Synod cenfures me, owning it as the Judgment last Art. of all our Divines, as well as his own. The but one. Brethren were not a little stounded at such a furprizing Testimony; and it cannot be deny'd, that two of them, the Reverend Mr. Jamison, with some kind of Modesty and Diffidence, and Mr. Logan with the greatest Vehemency and the highest pitch of Confidence, asserted (I cannot fay, reason'd) that Dr. Twiffe fays not what in express Terms he doth fay. To clear the point, as to that Doctor's Sentiment, let us hear the Learned and Pious Mr. Baxter, who will be Match enough, and more, I presume for both the Brethren, and all the Aid, the Synod could afford them. "I owe more, faith Mr. Baxter Preface to " to Dr. Twiffes Writings, for my Information his Confess " in those Points, where many are now offended " at me for my Judgment, than to any Wri-" ter in the World, except the Scriptures; in " particular, it was he that did fatisfy me in " the Point of Universal Redemption." And " again, " I remembred two, or three Things Pref to his Cath. Theol.

Dr. Lond, 1675.

in Dr. Twiffe that inclined me to Moderation

" in the five Articles. First, that he every where

fi

d

21

S

I

" professeth that Christ so far died for all, as

" to procure them Justification and Salvation,

conditionally to be given them, if they be-

Ibid B. 2

P. 51.

" lieve" And yet further, " Dr. Twiffe him.

" felf, I believe, Twenty, if not Forty times

" over, in his Works, faith, that Christ fo far

" died for all, as to procure and give them

" Pardon and Salvation, on Condition they

" will Repent and Believe."

A particular Decree of Elect own'd.

And now to shut up this Point, and to prevent, if possible, all Suspicion and Cavalling, I declare as I have done on another Occasion, that I own a particular Decree of Election, for bringing to Happiness, by Christ Jesus, a certain Number of Mankind, a People given to him, to be his feed; and that, for this End, there is a special Grace vouchsafed to such Select ones, by which they are infallibly and effectually prevailed with, to comply with the Calls and Motions of the Spirit, and to perfevere unto the End. And this Doctrine, I think, ferves excellently to affert the Sovereignty of God, according to the Scriptures; to fet forth the mighty Efficacy of the Sacrifice and Intercession of our Saviour; and to breed the deepest Humility, and the most grateful Affection in all pious sincere Souls. And indeed! could never digest the Sentiment of those, who fuspend fuspend the Success and Fruit of Christ's Undertaking, upon the Caprice, the Fickleness, and Instability of Man's Will.

What the Synod said about the Passage out see this of Dr. Patrick, relative to the last Instance of Revisal on Scandal and Error, is Stuffrather to be laugh'd

at, than answer'd.

110

re

n,

-9e

m

les

ar

m

ey

e-

n, or

r-

to

d,

e-

1-

he

e-

k,

of et

id

he

ė-

11

10 1d

There remain yet seven Questions, to com- some more pleat the Synodical Catechism, upon which I Questions, was to be examin'd. They are all really Fo-the Libet, reign to the Libel, and therefore I neither did, confider'd: nor do think my felf concern'd to regard them. But however, I shall a little consider Two or Three of the Queries, which may feem very odd, and not so proper from a Catechist to his Scholar. I was then further question'd about a Passage, I had cited in my Additional Paper. Now in the Page referr'd to by the Minutes, Page 1. there are feven or eight several Positions: But which of them the Synod mean'd, no Body can guess from their Minutes. What manner of Fair and dealing is this? Was I not pos'd upon a certain open deadeterminate Passage? Are the Brethren (upon sing in the more sedate and calmer Thoughts) not asham'd Minutes. to acquaint Men, that they were diffatisfy'd on fo strange an Account? I shall here transcribe The first the Passage (which the Moderator expressy told about a me was that, I had cited out of Calvin) with Passage of my Reflections upon it; Ecce vocem ad eos diri- Inft. L.III. git, (the Author speaks of God's Way of trea- Cap: 24.

ting with Reprobates) sed ut magis obsurdescant; lucem accendit, sed ut reddantur caciores; doctrinam profert, sed qua magis obstupescant; remedium adhibet, sed ne sanentur. And then I added. " It's not to be imagin'd, that so pious, learn'd and excellent a Divine, intended there to reor present any thing, but what's the Event of " the Tenders of Mercy, thro' the wilful and " obstinate Impenitence of Unbelievers. It was far from his Mind, I am persuaded, to " affert, that our gracious Creator, the Lover of Souls, design'd by the Light of the Gospel, " and his earnest and instant Invitation of Men to Repentance, to render any of them more " blind, to harden them in their Sins, and to aggravate their Guilt and Condemnation." This is the Passage, about which the Synod desir'd Satisfaction, as to my meaning therein, wherein they desir'd further clearing, as it's express'd in the Minutes. And fo I was ask'd, if I judg'd that any thing comes to pass, that was not decreed by God? And particularly, if I believ'd, that the judicial blinding and hardning of Men, by the preach'd Gospel, was not design'd by God, whereever it falls out? My Answer was, that there's no Judgment, nor Event in the World, that God hath not determin'd to effectuate, or permit, yet without being the Author of Sin; (which is omitted in the Minutes) and that he is the Orderer, the Over-ruler and Difposer

poser of all Events. Now let all sober and in- The true Importance telligent Men judge, of what Spirit and Prin- and borrid ciples fuch Divines must be, who call for Satis- Consequenfaction and Clearing in so plain a Case. Must rigid Opiit not be thought highly Scandalous (to fay no nions. worse) to quarrel with a Brother for so inoffenfive a Gloss, upon a Passage so harsh and frightful, in the strict literal Sense? Wou'd not the World be tempted, by fuch Doctrine, to look on the Preaching of the Gospel, not as a Bleffing or Favour, but the greatest Curse, or Plague that could befal them? Might not the Ministers thereof be treated, as Men authoriz'd and privileg'd to be Cheats, Impostors, or Deceivers in the Name of the Lord? As Commission'd by him to befeech and obtest poor miserable Sinners, to repent and be happy, and to assure them, that their merciful Creator delights not in their Ruin, (as he hath solemnly sworn, he doth not) while in the mean time, according to an eternal peremptory Decree, it's determin'd, by fuch kind Offers and pressing Solicitations, to blind, harden, stupify and damn them? Can it be call'd Grace, to offer the Remedy of Christ's Blood for healing the Wounds of those, to whom it's offer'd on purpose, that they may not be heal'd; yea, and that they may be more feverely punish'd, for rejecting a Remedy, that was never intended for them, nor possible to be apply'd? Doth not all this look

look like the Blasphemy of charging the God of Truth and Faithfulness, with Falshood and Hypocrify? And how can it be entertain'd and digested by any sober Mind, that the Supreme Law-giver, and Righteous Judge of the World, enacted and publish'd his Laws, for this very End, that Millions of Souls might be eternally and intolerably tormented, by violating them? Horresco referens. If this were Calvin's Doctrine, how might his Enemies infult and triumph over him, as if it were the necessary God's mo- Consequence of his Horrible Decretum. Gions and will it mend the Matter, to tell Men of God's

ral Perfe-

Artributes Sovereignty. Who believes in God, that will never clash deny his almighty, absoluce, irresistable and unaccountable Power? But then it's to be minded, how it's agreed among Divines, that no Doctrine is to be advanc'd, that makes the Divine Perfections interfere with one another; as in the present Case, we must not exalt his Sovereignty, to contradict his Truth, or to obfcure and disparage his Goodness.

The second Another Query was, if I own'd the Neabout a su- cessity of implanting of a Supernatural Prinper-natural ciple, in order to the eliciting of Actions spi-Principle ritually good? This Answer is put in my Mouth; That I own the Efficacy of Grace ex Adions. fua natura, and not from the Event. This is just to represent metalking most impertinently, as it's in the common Proverb; which Way to London? London? A Poke full of Plums. The Words are mine; but the Answer is theirs, which I disclaim and reject. And indeed the Question was no less needless (having been directly answer'd in one of my \* Papers) than the Answer

is abfurd and fenfeless,

0

The concluding Query was, if new Obe- The dience, as well as Faith, be the Condition of our Query Justification before God? Occasion was ta-condition ken for this Question, from the 14th Article of gation. my Paper, concerning the Proceedings of the Committee at Kircaldy; if where I have declar'd + see App. my Judgment very plainly concerning Faith; seat. 6. the Righteousness of Christ, as the sole and only Cause of our being accepted, and accounted righteous before God; and of the Necessity of inherent Holiness, Obedience to the Gospel, &c. For what End, or on what Principle, the Synod mov'd this Question, it's hard to tell. Sure they intended not to countenance A Popish the Scandal, rais'd against Protestants, viz. Calumny That we do not hold the Necessity of good upon Pros Works, in order to Salvation, but trust wholly to Faith. I hope they, with all our Divines. teach them to be as necessary to Salvation, as the Papists can or have done; but yet humbly and truly owning, that no Man can Merit by the very best of their Performances, which are accepted only for the Sake of Christ Jesus.

Nor

T th

Ir

n

ft

f

11

i

Nor am I willing to believe, tho' many do.

that the Brethren doubt, if the Efficacy of

Christ's Undertaking for us, and the Necessity

of our personal Righteousness, be consistent together; and if the one and the other have their proper Influence, in obtaining the Remission of our Sins, and the divine Acceptance. For I take the Doctrine of the Reform'd Church to stand thus; That our Redemption, Justifimed Church Cation and Salvation, depend only on our Saviour's Righteousness, or his perfect Obedience. Active and Passive, as the sole meritorious Cause; that Man neither had in himself, nor did or could contribute any thing, which procur'd the Covenant of Grace from God, or mov'd him to contrive, and our Saviour to undertake and accomplish so gracious and stupendous a Work. as is the Way of recovering lapfed Mankind; and that these great Benefits are confer'd upon us, not immediately and absolutely, but upon certain Qualifications and Conditions, Faith, Repentance and new Obedience, for the performing whereof, we must be enabled by the Holy Spirit, which God giveth to those that ask him,

by me to be the Protestant Doctrine, which I

firmly believe, and have always profess'd and

taught. And indeed I cannot fee, why there

should be any Debate among us about this Point.

for our Saviour's Sake.

This, I fay, is taken

The

The Do-Strine of the Reforas to the Point of Fuftification.

The Stating of it aright, at the Beginning of of how the Reformation, was judg'd of the greatest More Importance against the Papists, who had so ma-Disputes ny Ways adulterated and corrupted the Chripists. Stian Religion. And there was good Ground for that celebrated Word of the Bold and Magnanimous Luther, concerning Justification, that it was Articulus Stantis & cadentis Ecclesia. But How little Reason for Protestants had a Mind to agree, how could Consess at there be any Contest about this Point, all bout it, among our with some Difference of Expression?

Nor is it to be imagin'd, that the Brethren A Theolodefign to revive that Bellum Theologicum, which gical War was manag'd 150 Years ago in Germany, among Necessity of some Divines of the Reform'd Church, de ne-goodworks. cessitate bonorum operum ad salutem. One maintain'd, that they were necessary; another affirm'd, that they were noxious and pernici- V. Ab. ous, noxia & perniciosa ad salutem. A Doctrine Bucholc. Mund. Chro. that was, as it deserved, exploded, and look'd ad Ann. on as the very Source of Scandals and Villanies. 1551. The thing most to be dreaded (and for which Antinothere's too much reason from the Synods Que-mianism to stion) is, that not a few of the Brethren are be dreaded. leaven'd with the Antinomian Principles; the whole Party, I know, cannot be justly charg'd on this Score. And I am fure, their Predecef- see a Defors reckon'd Antinomianism among the grossest claration and most capital Errors, Libertinism, Socinia- and Exhornifm,

Pa

ri

SI

sheGeneral nifm, &c. But it's too certain, that the Do-Affembly, ctrine of Free-Grace and Justification, is by too Aug. 1. many preach'd in fuch a manner, as encourages 1648. Seff. 23. 10 carnal, covetous and malicious Professors to their Breconfide in, and comfort themselves with the thren of England. mighty Virtue of a dead and phantastick Faith. And hence it is, that they more care to be pardon'd for being bad, than to become good, to use the Words of a pious, learned and moderate Presbyterian. And upon the whole, I will adven-Mr. Howe ture to fay, with that fame worthy Author. The unhap that Divines, by their Debates and various Schemes py Fruit of about Justification, have cover'd the plain Gospel Disputes. Way (viz. Repentance towards God, Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, a renewed Heart, an Holy Life) with Thorns and Briars, and so have not instructed, but perplex'd and distracted, whom they should di-The Synods rect. And now, after what I have laid before Question the Brethren, for giving some Light to this answer'd. Point, I directly answer their Question (out of pure brotherly Kindness, for informing them a little better, and out of Concernedness for the Good of Souls committed to their Charge) I believe, that there are the same Terms of Justification and Salvation; that we enter into a State of Justification, by such a Faith alone, as essentially includes a hearty purpose of new

Obedience; and that we cann't continue in that

State, unless, according to our Resolution, we

bring forth the Fruits of Holiness, or good

In

Works.

In recompense to my Brethren, for the great The De-Pains they have been at, to enlighten and en-fendant's rich my Mind, with some of their Notions and Return for Speculations, I will impart, with unfeign'd thren's Charity, and fincere Respect, a Lesson or Pains. two, I have learn'd from other Masters. Διὰ πολιτέιας ἄνελθε διὰ καθάρσεως κτήσαι το ημθαρόν. Βέλα θεολάνος γενέω ποτέ - πάς ένπιλας φύλασσε; δια πων περέαγμα πων δίδευον: πεᾶξις γάρ, επίβασις θεωρίας, faith one Greg. Naz. one of the greatest Lights of the Eastern Orat. 29. Church. And 'tis certain, if one would be a Par. 1630. Theologue to any Purpose, he must ascend and advance by a good Conversation; he must purify himself, that he may enjoy Him, who is Purity itself, he must keep the Commands of God, and walk in the Way of his Statutes: For Obedience, or Practice, is the very first Step to Knowledge, or Contemplation. And in fome one Modern Author or other, of no fmall Reputation, both for Parts and Piety, I remember to have read this Observation; Small Abilities and great Confidence, ordinarily make the most inconsiderable and ridiculous Creature in Nature.

After the Synod had narrowly pry'd into my An account Thoughts, and critically fifted my Sentiments, of several Words, Actions and Omissions, Parties were Votes. dismis'd for a Time, and the Brethren proceed-

ed to transact their Business, and dispatch the

c b

u b

16 t

the

the

for

the

if

in

bei

T

ca

if

A

pr

CE

tı

1

R

t

ce bytries,

How reasonable a Delay had been.

whole Affair by Votes. It was then voted. 1. Proceed in this Affair, or delay it till next Synod? And refolv'd to proceed. It's not faid. unanimously. For it seems, there were some of the Brethren for longer and more mature Deliberation. And certainly they had strong Reasons on their side. My Affair was judg'd by the Committee at Kircaldy, of great Import. and by the Synod at Dumfermline, to be intricate, thro' many and long Papers, and therefore left by both undecided. And was not the Matter still as important and intricate, if not more? And what had been the Hazard, or Inconvenience, to have confulted the Commission of the Kirk, or referr'd the Process to the General Assembly as was desir'd? One of the main Things laid to my Charge, was Heterodoxy. And in this Case, grave and judicious Presbyterians are for using great Caution, and tell their Brethren, that if the Errors objected " be not gross, striking at the Vitals of Reli-" gion, pertinaciously stuck unto, and industri-" oufly and maliciously spread, with a visible Overtures " Defign to corrupt, and are not spreading

Discipline, " among the People (of which Nature, no-&c,Cap.3. " thing can be objected against me) then Leni-Sect. 8. "tives, Admonitions, Instructions, and frequent Ed. 1696.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Conferences are to be try'd to reclaim, with-

out cutting off: And the Advice of other Pres-

he

d,

xt

d,

16

3

d

" bytries to be fought, and unless the Thing be doing much hurt, Synods and Assemblies to be advis'd with in the Affair.

2. Whether they should declare, That before they come to a final Sentence, they would consider the Reflections cast upon my Ministry, according to a former Desire of mine? And it was carry'd in the Negative. The Minutes informs us not, if unanimously.

3. Whether the \* Additional Answers I gave Hor. 4. in the Forenoon, relative to the Articles of the Li- \*See App. bel, were satisfying, and did vindicate me from the Sect. 11. Things objected, or not? And it was unanimously carry'd in the Negative. It seems the Brethren, if once displeas'd, are not easily appeas'd. And it's but too too plain, that they are easily provak'd, as Charity is not. Whether this proceeds from the Brethrens Principles, Constitution, or some other Source, I cannot say. But I have somewhere read an Observation, made vation of by one of the wifest and mildest of the German Melanch-Reformers; That unskilful People are more apt to be angry, than others. Our Synod could be sa- Impossible tisfy'd no manner of Way. They quarrell'd to fatisfy at every thing, I faid. They found, I neither conceited. thought, nor spoke, according to their Standard. At this rate, I apprehend, they must be dissatisfy'd with all the Reformed Churches upon Earth. And while the World lasts, it's impossible they should be contented, unless they

fober

will

Drea

And

Refl

hop " g

" b

16 7

" F

16 "

66

4

66

"

16

66

F

W

C

allow to others (as both Reason and Religion require) the same Liberty and Right, they claim and assume to themselves. In the mean time, they may a little reflect on that of the

Teren. Ad. Elegant Comic Poet; Homine imperito numquam quicquam injustius: Qui nist quod ipse fecit, nihil

rectum putat.

4. The Synod having judg'd, That in some of my Answers to some Interrogatories, put to me in the Forenoon, I evidenc'd Unfoundness in the Faith, and in others of them, gave no satisfying Proof of my Soundness in these Points, but by renew'd declining to Answer, gave further ground to judge me Unsound, it was put to the Vote, approve, or not?

The Defen-Unfound, only be. cause the Synod is Sound.

And the Affirmative was carry'd, Nemine Condant voted tradicente. Who may not here descry, at the very first view, the whole Synods marvellous Subtlety, joyn'd with the most profound Solidity! I evidenc'd Unfoundness; but in what Point, or by what Rule, they either knew not, or refolv'd, that others should not They should have minded the true and common Word, deceptio versatur in generalibus. And then, if there was sufficient Evidence of my Unfoundness, what need of adding, that I gave no satisfying Proof of my Soundness, but farther Ground to judge me Unfound? In short, the whole amounts to thus much; I was judg'd Unfound, because my Judgment differ'd from theirs. I can fay for my felf (and I believe all fober n

Y

in

le

m

il

,

f

e

e

S

t

1

sober Men, of whatever Party or Persuasion will assent) that this is a wild Conceit, a mere Dream, contrary both to Sense and Reason. And here I will lay before my Brethren, the Reflection of a most grave and judicious Divine, D. B. Cal. hoping it may be useful to some. " It is the serm. " greatest Oppression and Usurpation imagina-Lond. " ble (we commonly, and justly I think, call it " Tyranny) to assault, or try to overcome the " Reafon of another, by any Thing else but " Reason: And this is the uncharitable Spirit, " that so eminently discovers it self in the " Church of Rome. — And with the same " Spirit, many that hate Popery enough, are " too much leaven'd: I mean those, who ap-" propriate the glorious Names of the Godly, " People of God, Orthodox Christians, only " to their own - Sect, and reprobate all, " that have not arriv'd to the same Skill in " their — Divinity with themselves."

The Synod having consider'd the whole The Fustice Heads and Articles above mention'd, together of the Vote with my investive Address, and also my refusing own'd hy the Defenagain and again to subscribe the Confession, ex-dant. cept in a qualified Sense, which the Synod is no way in tuto to allow, it was put to the Vote, whether I was Censurable, or not? And it carried unanimously, that I was. A Vote most just and reasonable, beyond all Peradventure. For I never knew any Man, that was not censurable

furable: Nor is there, I suppose, one so inno.

cent Person in the whole World, if he be not quite a Stranger to the Laws of God, and to himself, but will readily and fincerely confess, that he deserves to be censur'd. So that this Vote reaches every Minister in the Synod, and all Christendom over. And yet I cann't approve the Grounds of the Vote. The whole Heads Thegrounds of the Vote and Articles are made one Reason for judging me Censurable. Now, if there be but one Point, where I am in the Right, the Synod must here be in the Wrong. And it must be wonderfully strange, if, in not so much as one Article, I have ever hit upon the Truth, and the Synod hath never missed it in any. Then the Concerning invectiveness of my Address is another Ground. the Defendant's Ad. To Address, being a thing so common, fashiodreis, why nable and modiff, cann't, I think, be blam'd. Nor do I fee, why my Address shou'd be call'd inveltive, without specifying why, or in what it is fo. I have perused, ponder'd and examin'd it again and again, and cann't imagine, what possibly hath given offence, unless it be, that I touch'd (and that very tenderly too) up. on redressing what abuses may be charg'd on the Brethren themselves, and mention'd that common Axiom, ex malis moribus oriuntur bona leges. If this be the Crime, I can justify my felf by

publick authentick Deeds of their own Kirk.

1646, Sefs. Let the Brethren then consult, the Enormites

LU.

confider'd.

call'd in.

vective.

and

and

they

and

the

fers

Yea

of a

'tis

fen

16

"

"

"

20

16

4

"

=

46

46

"

h

1

A

1

and Corruptions, observed to be in the Ministry, as they are particularly reckon'd in Ministers Lives. and in their Callings, together with the Remedies thereof, by one of their Assemblies, which refers to an Act of another Assembly above 100 7. Years ago, that was reviv'd by the most famous of all their Assemblies in the late times. Now 1638. Sels. 'tis very remarkable, how in that ancient Af-23, 24. fembly, after " they had reason'd and agreed " on the Defections in the Ministry, Corrup-" tions in their Office, and in their Lives and " Persons, it was thought necessary they be " humbled (Since by Gods Grace they intended " Reformation) for wanting fuch care, as be-" came in fuch Points; and that some Zealous " and Godly Brethren in Doctrine, lay them " out for their better Humiliation; and that " they make a solemn Promise before the Ma-" jesty of God, and make a new Covenant " with him, for a more careful and reverent " Discharge of their Ministry. And for this " Effect Mr. John Davidson was chosen, and a " Meeting appointed in the new Kirk-" whereunto none was to refort but the Mini-" stry." We of this Generation, I presume, have no reason to look on our selves, as more Wife and Virtuous, than our Fore-Fathers And furely, the more blameless we are in our Conduct, and the more eminent in all true folid Goodness, we may with the greater Free-

dom

d

e,

le

s.

Y

K.

es

dom admonish, and hope with the better Success to reduce Sinners. At least, by this means, we of the Clergy shall be able to stop the Mouths of many, who are ready to reproach us, as very strict and severe to Others, but exceeding Gentle and indulgent to our Selves.

Refusing to fub(cribe. Censure.

And for my refusing again and again to subno ground of scribe the Confession, that can never render me censurable, if there be no Law binding me to subscribe, as I believe there is not. An hundred Refusals will not make a Fault, if there was and could be none in the First. As to the Synod's not being in tuto to allow Subscription in a qualified Sense, yet I conceive, there was no danger, if they had urg'd no Subscription at What penalty incurr'd they for such an The Synod Omission ever fince 1693. And the' the Mat-

ly allow a qualified on.

might fafe- ter had been brought to my making an offer, actually to subscribe before the Synod, in a Subscripii- qualified Sense, (as indeed, they know, it was not) yet, in my Opinion it will not be easy to show, how it was safe to impose more than the Law requir'd, and not fafe to admit of less. The best way I know, for unravelling this Mystery, is frankly to avow, that it's left to the Brethrens Will and Option, to do as they list.

About the stating of the laft Vote.

The next Clause in the Minutes, viz. Thereafter it was put to the Vote, Suspend, or depose, is very hard to be understood. It may feem to be an

74

CC

fo tl

f

an Inference from my having been voted Cenfus rable. But that is scarce credible. For at such a rate of Reasoning, not one of themselves could escape. Mr. Grame is censurable, therefore he ought to be suspended or deposed. If the Consequence be good there, then it must be fo here too: All the Ministers of the Synod are Censurable, therefore they ought to be suspended, or deposed. A Man, I think, might undertake to maintain, against the whole Synod of Coupar, pro re nata, that there's a just and exact parity of Reason, in such a way of arguing, without running any risk of his Credit, or being look'd on as a Confident and daring Fellow. I am apt then to believe the meaning of the foresaid obscure Clause to be. 1. That The Synods my Errors and other Miscarriages were so intention in this heinous, as to deserve Suspension, or Depositi-point, gueson, while the Brethrens Mistakes and Faults fed at. (Sure, they neither can nor will plead Exemtion from either) are but mere Peccadillo's, or unavoidable, and therefore venial Slips. 2. That it was immediately refolv'd, The Vote shou'd be, Suspend, or Depose. For it's evident by the Sequel, it was not then put to the Vote, tho the Minutes bear expresly, but falsly, that it was. So far as I can comprehend, the Matter was order'd thus; The Synod unanimously agreed, and positively determin'd, that I should be filenc'd by Suspension, or Deposition, and when

0

33

"

"

In

he

fo

N

d

u

" Aspers

when they had advanc'd a Step or Two, that it Their Ar. should be formally voted, Suspend, or Depose bitrary Se- Mr. Grame? And was there no Mean between these Extremes? Why might not a fraternal Admonition, an authoritative Reprimand, a fharp Synodical Rebuke have ferv'd the Turn? Ought not, at least, the Synod to have shew'd. that they were indispensably oblig'd by the Laws of the Land, or the Canons of the Church, to proceed so vigorously against my Delinquencies?

The Defentestation a-Synod.

verity.

And now Parties being call'd in, it was intidant's Pro mated to me, that the Synod, according to gainst the their Vote, would not declare, whether they intended to consider the Resections upon my Ministry, which I had complain'd of, before they came to a final Sentence. This I took, as I had reason, to be a flat refusing to do me Justice; and therefore I protested in manner following, as it's recorded in the Minutes: " It's or not without some Reluctancy, that I do so " much as think of taking any Step, that might " offend the Synod; but the Care I am oblig'd " to take, for vindicating the Credit of my "Ministry, drives me to enter a Protestation; " and I do protest for Remedy against the Ini-" quity and Partiality of the Synod, in refusing " directly and expresly to own me as a Gospel " Minister, and to condemn, in plain Terms, "the most false, uncharitable, and scandalous

Aspersions, cast upon my Ministry, by Peti-" tions, both to the Presbytry of Dumfermline. " and to the Synod." And upon this I took Instruments.

The Synod's next Step was, to invite us to Concerning hear their Prayer for Light and Direction, be-their Prafore they proceeded to a further Decision diately be-Mr. F. Principal of the new College in St. An-fore the drews was pitch'd upon, to perform that Piece Sentences of Devotion. Tho' I will not venture to descant upon so nice a Point, yet it may be safely said, whatever Piety there might be, that there was but little Prudence in the Brethrens Conduct. For Religion's Sake, and their own too, I could have wish'd, their Prayer had been with Doors shut, and as private, as their Votes were. They feem not to have been aware, what Scandal was given to those, who were call'd to be Witnesses. Nor was it, I believe, remembred, how their Party charg'd some of the Clergy. under the late Government, with turning Prayer into a piece of Pageantry, in reference to the Congee d' Eslire's; and much less was it minded, how they expos'd themselves, to be twitted in the Teeth most justly, with what we have in one of our common School-Books: Qua sulpare soles, eatu ne feceris ipse: Turpe est Doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum. Or with that, much to the same Purpose, out of a most inge-

nious Heathen Poet; Sic agitur censura, & sic Ovid L. El K a exema

exempla parantur. Cum judex, alios quod monet, ipse facit.

6. And now we are come to the fixth and P. 10. final Vote. Parties being remov'd, the Roll was call'd, and as it had been refolv'd, it was Voted, Suspend, or Depose? And pass'd, Depose.

The Synodi- And therefore the Synod did Simpliciter depose me cal Senfrom all Exercise of the ministerial Office in the Patence.

rish of Dumfermline, or elsewhere: And that because of the dangerous Errors, and other Miscarriages, which they have found in the Exercise of my ministerial Function. And then Mr. Charteris, (tho' absent) Minister of Enerkethin, was appointed to intimate the Sentence of Deposition against me, from the Pulpit of Dumsermline in

Diffenters nod.

due Form. Now it's here plain, that there in the Sy-were Dissenters in the Synod. For tho' it was unanimously agreed, that my Mouth should be stopt, yet some, it seems, were only for Suspension, but the Plurality for Deposition. However, it doth not appear, that any one urg'd, his Dissent might be mark'd in the Register, or Protested, if that was refus'd, as is allow'd by

1644. Sell the Act of an Assembly. This would have 7. been to act too moderately, in Favour of a Man

The Defen- of my Principles. As for the Sentence, I am dant blanot fo much concern'd to impugn it, (and inmed for submitting deed I need not) as to defend my self, against to the Seu- the Obloquy cast upon me, by very intelligent tence. and judicious Men, for my regarding of what's

10

so manifestly against the common, universal and essential Forms of Law and Equity. All I intend to say for my own Vindication, as to this Point, is, that I do not repent of my Submission, but sincerely profess, tho' there had been in the Synods Decision, an higher Degree of Weakness, Ignorance, Folly, Partiality, Iniquity and Tyranny (cou'd it possibly have happen'd to be so) I would notwithstanding, have comply'd and yielded, as I did.

Upon Intimation of the Sentence to me, I dictated an Appeal, which the Clerk has faithfully recorded, as follows: "I do appeal from the Sentence of Deposition pass'd against me,

" by the Synod, pro re nata, at Coupar, this The Defen-

" twentieth Day yf June, 1701, to the Gene-dants Appeal to the

" ral Assembly to sit at Edinburgh in March 1702. General

" Because having pleaded, that the Synod Assembly.

" might condescend on the Acts, on which the

" Libel is pretended to be founded, and ac-

" cording to which I was to be try'd, and

" they were to proceed and determine; and in

" Case the Synod had no Inclination, or Clear-

" ness to grant, what seems so just and reaso-

" nable in it felf, and fo fit and proper for

" vindicating themselves from all Suspicion of

" being resolv'd to act Arbitrarily, I intreated,

" that they might be pleas'd to consult the

" Commission of the Church, as is usual and

4 allow'd in such Cases: Yet these my just Re-

K 3

e quests

" quests, which have so visible a Tendency for " the Peace of the Parish of Dumfermline, and " for filenfing all Complaints there, were ut-" terly rejected, notwithstanding my utmost " Care to pay all due Respect to the Synod, and to avoid all Semblance of Provocation " and Offence, and notwithstanding I had en-" deavour'd, to make it evidently appear, there was no just Ground, for inflicting any Ecclesiastick Censure on me, upon the account of my Conduct, Doctrine, or Diligence. In " the mean time, I referve to my felf Power, " to add what other Reasons, I may judge sit " and proper. And I protest, that the forefaid Sentence of Deposition be Void and Will, to all Intents and Purposes, till this my " Appeal be discuss'd, and that Extracts be si given me of all Papers, relating to this Af-" fair, as accords." Upon all which I took Instruments.

The Gen. Immediately after this, Sir Alex. Bruce, of tries Appeal, and Broomhal, for himself, and in Name of the the Synods Gentry, and others of my Parish, renew'd on renew'd, their Appeal to the Parliament. And in like Pag. 11. manner, the Synod renewed their Protestation against the said Appeal.

Thus I have made bold to revise and re-exafion of the mine the Minutes of this Famous Syhod, with
Revisal. all due and just Application. And, I hope, I
have represented my Thoughts plainly and fair-

fi

ly enough. I do indeed, on all fit Occasions call a Spade, a Spade. And who can blame me. fince I have been fo rudely and spitefully attack'd and purfu'd; fo uncharitably and unjustly treated and sentenc'd? However, I am perfuaded, it will appear, that there was no Ground for fuch Outcries, as were rais'd against me; and that it was not without Reason, that Perfons of good Quality, and great Sense, countenanc'd me, as not unworthy to ferve my Country, in the present not very flourishing State of this Church, to use softer Words, than perhaps, fome others would. And here I will presume to insert a Passage in my own Favour, (which, 1 think, cann't justly be censur'd, as contrary to Christian Humility) out of a Let- A Testimo. ter concerning the Process against me, from a my for the great Man, to a leading Minister in this Pro- by Sir I. S. vince, to be by him communicated to his L. A. Brethren, at the Synod in Dunfermline April 1701. - Seeing his Singularities are rather suspected, than declar'd, and that he is resolv'd to give no occasion (viz, of Debate, or Offence, as appears by the former Part of the Letter) for hereafter, and that he is not only free of all Exception, as to his Life and Conversation, but acceptable to many Persons, who otherwise may make more trouble, I cannot but wish and intreat, that the Wisdom of the Synod may be tender in this Matter, K 4 and

and either let it fall, or put it by discreetly, by remitting it to a Conference, or waving it in any other manner, and may be for continuing and overlooking Mr. Grame, without the Church's Prejudice, which, I am satisfy'd is not, in this Affair, in any Hazard. And this you may communicate with your wonted Discretion, as from, &c. Such a Testimony, from a Person of so rare and excellent Abilities, doth incomparably more support and chear me up, than the Verdict of the Synod did, or The Defencan afflict and deject me. I have, by the divine dant's Pro-Aid, brought my Mind to a fettled Repose, in resolving to contribute my best Endeavours for the Peace of the Church, notwithstanding all Obstacles and Discouragements. For I am convinc'd, that without Concord and Brotherly Kindness, Christianity can never arrive to its true, native, and resplendent Lustre, for which it was so highly valu'd and admir'd in the Pri-Greg. Naz mitive Times. That venerable Ancient, I cited Orat 26; above, has a Passage, very suitable to this Purpag. 443. Par. 1630. pose, that deserves to be engraven on the Minds of all Christians, and more especially of their Guides, who are so deeply oblig'd to recommend Peaceableness by their Doctrine and Example, τί το ήμετέρε λόνε το καλλισον; ή ειρήνη πεσοθήσω δε όπ κ το λυσιτελεςαπον. Τί δαί τὸ ἄιχι-50ν, ο το βλαβερώτατον, ή διχόνοια.

one should be ask'd, what's the most fair, love-

penfion to

Peace.

142

ly,

anf

but

of

the

fata

and

be

au

tion

COS

ter

bee

in

Ti

CO

fai

to

for

Go

ftr

Le

cel

m

res if

Li

in

ly, and charming thing in our Religion? And answer, Peace is not only the most beautiful. but the most beneficial and useful Ornament of it alfo. What's, on the other Hand. the foulest and most shameful Stain, the most fatal and pernicious Bane of it? Discord and Division. And I know not, if there be any Expedient more conducive and effe-Etual, for promoting Peace, than Modera-Moderation tion (with respect to all kind of Differen-lent Means cos, whether in Point of Opinion, or Mat-in order to ter of Interest) which, so far as I know, has been esteem'd and commended by wife Men, in all Ages, as an eminent Christian Virtue. Till this be better understood, more seriously consider'd, more earnestly press'd, and more faithfully practis'd, there's little, or no hope, to fee Religion taking Root, and bringing forth the Genuine Fruits of the Spirit, all Goodness, Righteousness, &c. in this poor difracted Country. And now I shut up all with an Observation, highly commended by Learned, Pious and Pacifick Divines; fi in ne- A Pacifick cessarijs sit unitas, in non-necessarijs Libertas, Maxim. in utrifque Charitas, optimo certè loco essent res nostræ; which amounts to thus much. if there were Unity in Things necessary, Liberty in Things not necessary, and Charity in both, certainly the State of Religion,

( 154 )

and the Church would be most prosperous and happy.

JA. GRAME.

1

F

I.

ma Ser

nu

tha

Additional Reasons of the Defendant's Appeal.

Having reserv'd Power to add what I might think sit and just, for corroborating my Verbal Appeal to the General Assembly, I drew up the following Paper, and dispatch'd, in due time, a Double thereof to the Moderator of the late Synod, prore nata, at Coupar, and another to the Clerk.

Addi-

## Additional Reasons

OF

Mr. FAMES GRAME's

## APPEAL

TO THE

## General Assembly,

From the Sentence of Deposition, pass'd against him, by the Synod, of FIFE, at COUPAR, June the 20th, 1701.

I. It is manifestly false, that the Libel, containing so many Scandals, was prov'd: it never having been once attempted to make out any Scandalous Thing against messeveral Matters of Fact were readily and ingenuously confess'd; but withal it was shewn, that there was not, in the whole Libel, any

one fingle Point, that could be deem'd relevant, or that render'd me liable to Censure, by any Act of this Church. So that it may be confidently said, the Libel is a mere Trifle, or an authentick Evidence of my Innocency.

The Synod it self was forc'd to pass from what was thought the only, or most plausible Article in it, Supine Negligence, and to confess that, at most, I could be charg'd only with Culpable Negligence. And if my Brethren do not (as I suppose they dare not) pretend to be impeccable, there's not one amongst them, but must acknowledge himself Culpably Negligent.

2. The Synod was acted and transported by Prejudices, as appears plainly by their shifting to own me as a Gospel Minister, and to condemn those, who had, most falsly and impudently, cast the grossest and vilest Aspersions on my Ministry; which occasion'd my entring a Protestation for Remedy against the Iniquity and Partiality of the Synod. Their declining to do me right, in this Point, was a clear Indication, that I could not expect a fair, and equal Trial before such Judges; and will undoubted by be matter of Scandal and Astonishment to all Reform'd Churches, which come to hear of their unparallel'd Procedure.

And further, they study'd how to cherish and increase their Prejudices, by digressing to

Mat-

M

fil

bl

Se

ex

de

m

A

C

u

b

th

St

a

g

V

to

to

n

al

th

to

fu

fo

G

d

ta

Matters, quite foreign to the Libel. It was vifible, that they did fearch out Iniquities, (but bleffed be God, in vain) and accomplish a diligent Search, that they might take hold of my Words, or extort some colourable Ground of a Sentence.

And in fine, they overlook'd and difregarded my express Offer, to remove the Prejudices, most causelessly conceiv'd against me, on the Account of the \* Queries, propos'd by the \* See App. Committee, at Kircaldy, (Jan. 1701.) which I see 10. undertook (tho' I needed not) to answer one by one.

Now by all this it's as clear, as the Light of the Sun, at Noon-day, that the Synod left no Stone unturn'd, to find me Guilty, and rejected whatever was represented, tho' with the greatest Evidence and Force of Reason, for vindicating my Innocence. And here I appeal to the common Sense of Mankind, as well as to the General Assembly, if my Brethren have not bewray'd the most malignant, obstinate and unchristian Prejudices against one, whom they acknowledge to be without Reproach, as to his Life and Manners; and whom, I prefume, they will not deny to have been, in some tolerable Measure, thro' the divine Blesfing, useful by his Pastoral Labours and Endeavours.

d

al

of

Ih

to

to

3. The Sentence is Arbitrary (and will certainly pass for an illustrious Instance of Presbyterian byterian Domination) being founded on no Laws, or Ecclesiastick Acts, made known to me. The Pretence alledg'd by the Moderator, as the Mouth of the Synod, for not specifying the Acts, by which I was to be try'd, viz. That they would proceed upon such Acts and Laws, as should satisfy their Superiors; This Pretence, I say, is most unjust, sawcy and trisling; since I, as Defendant, ought first of all to have been acquainted with those Laws, and heard upon them, as the common Forms of Justice require

4. The Sentence is evidently void and null in itself, running only in general Terms, viz-That the Synod depos'd me for dangerous Errors and other Miscarriages (so it was read by the Clerk, apud acta, before many famous Witnes. fes) without condescending on the one, or the Which is just, as if the Lords of the Justiciary should condemn one to be hang'd, for Crimes and Villanies, without specifying Treafon, Murder, &c. which by the Laws are declar'd Capital. A thing unprecedented, except where Tyranny is exercised, and makes Havock of Mankind. Written and subscrib'd with my Hand, at Dumfermline, June thirtieth, 1701.

JA. GRAME.

Extracted out of the Records of the Synod of Fife, by me, sic Subscribitur,

Robert Young, Cl. Syn. P.

I was

o.

S

af

ar

g

CC

to

0]

E

ar

tu

of

fo

W

bl

th

te

Wa

Pu

de

till

the

Cle

Fur

the

pro

th

I was at some loss, how to frame the additi-concerning onal Grounds of my Apppeal, not having been the Synods conduct to favour'd with an Extract of the Minutes (tho' wards the earnestly requested by me that very Night the particular. Synod rose) till July 8th, full Eighteen Days, ly, in reseafter the Sentence was past. The Moderator secondsenand Clerk told me, that no Extracts could be tence. granted, till the Minutes were revis'd. But I could hardly think, that it was judg'd necessary to revise the Sentence, which had been read in open Court, and by which one of the feverest Ecclesiastick Censures had been inflicted on me, and my very Name expung'd ex albo sacerdotum. And yet I could not obtain an Extract of it. My Brethrens Conduct feem'd to me, for fometime very Odd and Mysterious. But within a Fortnight after that Synod, I was able to pierce a little into the secret Spring of the whole Intrigue. For I learn'd, that a Sentence, quite different from that in the Minutes. was, by the Synods Order, intimated from the Pulpit of Dunfermline. But I had not full Evidence, and Certainty, that there was any fuch till I receiv'd, on the 7th, of Aug. a Copy of the new Sentence, extracted and fign'd by the Clerk of the Synod, bearing Date, at Coupar Jun. 20. I was sensible enough, and it seems The first the Brethren were so too, that the Sentence, Sentence pronounc'd in plain Synod, amounted to no- be sustais thing, or imply'd too much. To depose a ned. Mini-

0

p

1

Minister for dangerous Errors, and other Mil. carriages, without specifying them, is certain. ly to play the Tyrant, without any Mask. And at this rate, there can be no Liberty, Safety, and Security to the most innocent Man in the Church, under the mutability and various Re. volutions of Humane Affairs, when different Parties, by Turns, get the upper Hand and grow dominant. And then, if the Sentence, in fuch general Terms, be taken in its full Extent (as it may, if it be not Limited) it doth properly enough import all the Capital Errors in the Talmud, or the Alcoran, or the Council of Trent, or the Rhakovian Catechism, &c. and all Crimes and Immoralities, forbidden in the Decalogue, Polytheism, Idolatry, Perjury, Contempt of all publick Divine Worship, Parricide, Treason, Murder, Rapine, Theft, &c. The Synod thereforedid wifely and justly bethink themselves and resolve on another Sentence. But, I suppose, it will not, and I am fure cann't truly be pretended, that the new Edition of it is the work of the Synod, or was made at Coupar, on the 20th of How, or where, or when, or by June 1701. whom, it was done, the Brethren themselves can tell. It seems to me very probable, that the Synod order'd a Club or felect Committe of their Number (tho' there's no Foot-step of this in the Minutes) to meet for that Effect. And fo they conceiv'd that, according to their Forms, the

the Deed might be ascrib'd to the Synod, without being upbraided for offering to face out a plain Falshood. What their Forms are, or whether they be ty'd, or use to tye themselves to any, I do not know, and therefore venture not to judge. As to the present Case, I leave it to the Verdict of others, whether Judges can, or do take it upon them, to delegate their Power to a few of their Number, to condefcend on the feveral Articles of their Sentence, after the Criminal is condemn'd and punish'd. But be the fecond Sentence what, or whose they please, it's here subjoyn'd, with my Remarks upon it, tho' they should be deem'd superfluous, the Matter having been fo fully difcuss'd in the Revisal.

"At Coupar, the twentieth Day of June,

"HE Provincial Synod of Fife met The new here, pro re nata, considering that Sentence

whereas there was presented unto the Sy-

" nod of Fife, met at Coupar in September last,

" a Reference for Advice from the Presbytry

" of Dunfermline, anent a Libel given in to

" the faid Presbytry by the Kirk-Session of

" Dunfermline, against Mr. James Grame, E-

" piscopal Minister there. And the Synod

" considering the said Reference, did give it

as their Advice, that the Presbytry of Dun-

I.

fermline

ce fermline should give him his Libel, and carry on the Process, till it be ready for a Sentence, " and then bring it to a Committee of the Sy. " nod, to meet at Kircaldy, upon the Call of the faid Presbytry. And the faid Committee " having accordingly met upon the 21st Day " of January last at Kircaldy, and duly and se-" riously consider'd the whole Process, and all Papers relating thereunto; they did unani. moully refer the Matter entirely unto the " next approaching Meeting of the Provincial " Synod of Fife, to be held at Dunfermline, in ce April thereafter. Which meeting of the " Synod, in April, not having time to over-" take that Affair, did refer the same to this or present meeting of the Synod, pro re nata. " And this meeting of the Synod, taking the " faid Affair under Consideration, did cause call the Parties, viz. the Commissioners for "the Kirk-Session of Dunfermline, Pursuers, " and Mr. James Grame, Defender, who accoordingly compearing, the Synod did cause " read in their Hearing, the Libel against Mr. " James Grame, and his Answers thereto, with " an Additional Paper, confirming some Points " in the faid Answers, and all other Papers re-" lative to the faid Affair, as the Process at more length bears: All which Papers be-" ing feriously and maturely advis'd by the cc Synod, as also Mr. James Grame's further cc An-

Answers, Verbo, to the several Articles in " the faid Libel, and the Queries propos'd to " him by the Synod, upon some Passages in his Papers, as the Records of the Synod more " fully bear. The Synod found the faid Mr. " James Grame Guilty, i. Of the contempt of " the Authority of this Church, in joining " with Mr. Coupar, in administrating the Sa-" crament of the Lords Supper, and partaking thereof with him, after Sentence of Deposi-" tion was past, and duly intimate against the " faid Mr. Coupar; and that what he offers for " his Exculpation doth aggravate the said Con-" tempt. 2. That he was guilty of Culpable " Negligence, in omitting publick Duties of " Catechising for four Years, or thereby. "That he was charg'd with Heterodoxy in " his Doctrine and Opinions, and for his Vin-" dication was requir'd to Subscribe the Con-" fession of Faith, as the Confession of his " Faith, yet he declar'd he cou'd not subscribe ir, except in a qualify'd Sense, which qua-" lify'd Sense he was not pleas'd to express to " the Synod, but made delays about it, adding further, That he believ'd the Brethren them-" felves wou'd not fay, that it's necessary to believe every fingle Proposition in the Con-" fession of Faith to be a divine Truth. 4. The " Synod also found, that he Erroneously judges, "That Christ died for all those that profess

L 2

ce the

e

the Gospel, and to whom it comes, and that " they are bought with a Price; and maintains, " That Christ died in the room and stead of " all those for whom he died, and that he hath " purchased Pardon and Salvation for them conditionally, for whom he died, upon their e Believing and Repentance. And further afef ferts. That none who maintain the Truth opposite to this Error, do read or hear the " the Goipel without Prejudice. 5. The Syor nod found that he is guilty of reflecting upon " the Covenant, upon a National Fast-Day. " appointed by the General Assembly, for Hu. " miliation for breach of Covenant, and that " he doth unjustly charge the Presbyterians in " Dunfermline Parish, who do not wait on Or-"dinances dispens'd by him to be guilty of " fcandalous and mischievous Schism. Upon all " which the Synod judg'd him Censurable with " Deposition, and accordingly hereby do actu-" ally depose the said Mr. James Grame from " all Exercise of his Ministerial Office in the " Parish of Dunfermline, or elsewhere. And " hereby appoints their reverend Brother Mr. " Samuel Charteris, Minister of the Gospel at " Enerkethin, to preach at Dunsermline on Sabbath come eight Days, being the last Sabbath of June Instant, and there to make Intima-" tion of the above-written Sentence, from " the Pulpit of the Church of Dunfermline after ce Fore" Forenoon's Sermon, and to report his Dili-

" gence therein to the Synod, at their next

" meeting, as he will be answerable. And

" hereby recommends to the Presbytry of

"Dunfermline to fee this Appointment obey'd. Extracted forth of the Records of the Synod by me, Subscribitur,

Robert Young, Cl. Syn. P.

Remarks upon the above-written Sentence.

1. The Narrative thereof is Injurious, De-The Narra fective, and False. It's directly Injurious, in de-ous. nying me the Title of Minister absolutely, without the diminishing Adjunct Episcopal, as they take it. For I affirm (and am ready to make it good) that I was, upon as good and folid Grounds to be call'd a Minister of the Gospel (I mean, in foro Ecclesia) as any Man whoever. But the Designation of Episcopal Minister simply, for one ordain'd by a Bishop, and who ferv'd the Church under Episcopacy, is what, as yet, I have feen no reason to repent, or be asham'd of; nay, out of the due and just Respect, I bear to the incontestable Practice and Usage of the Christian Church, for so many Ages, I reckon it a considerable Advantage. It's Defective, in omitting two of the Grounds, Defective. on which the Synod in September, 1700, order'd my Libel to be giv'n me, and appointed

a Committee at Kircaldy; for the Act of that Synod bears, that, beside the Reference of the Presbytry, they proceeded upon a Petition of the Eldership here, and the Presbytries having already fummon'd me before them; in omitting the Reasons, upon which the Committee at Kircaldy referr'd the whole Process to the Synod at Dunfermline, viz. The paucity of their Number, and the great import of the Affair. And in omitting the main Ground, which mov'd the Synod at Dunfermline to refer the Business to the Synod pro re nata, at Coupar, viz. the Intricacy of Mr. Grames Affair thro' many and long Papers. Such Omissions are manifeftly prejudicial to my Cause. It's False, in affirming that all the Papers relative to the Pro-For it's certain that the Access were read: count of the Conference (to fay nothing of the Minutes of the Presbytry of Dumfermline which were omitted) by M. M. Hog and Logan, was not read, though I desir'd it might be. And this Omission was evidently to my Disadvantage; since if their Narrative had been heard, many judicious and difinterested Persons, who were present, would have perceiv'd what a lame Relation, nay, how shameful a Misrepresentation (I hope, without any ill Design) was made by the two Brethren of what past at the Conference.

Falle.

te

W

b

V

2. I was first Condemn'd, and some Days af-The Desenter, the Causes, or Pretences, why I was so, dant first were condescended on. But hitherto I always and, after believ'd, that a Criminal uses to be acquainted he has sufwith the Laws he has transgress'd, and that the told why. Sentence against him specifies expressly and particularly the Offences, for which he is punish'd. I have heard that Secular Judges proceed in this manner. And, I hope, our Ecclesiastick Courts will not plead for the Privilege of being exempted from the common Rules of Justice and Reason.

3. The Grounds, upon which the Sentence Thegrounds against me is founded, are either manifestly tence exa-False, or altogether Frivolous. min'd.

I. I am found guilty of contemning the Au-contempt thority of this Church, in joining with Mr. of Autho-Coupar, in administring the Lords Supper, and partaking thereof with him, after he was depos'd, and the Sentence was duly intimate. But how is this Contempt found? Sure it was no despising of the Church's Authority, to obey the express Command of the Saviour and King of the Church, as I did in administring, and others with me did in partaking of the Holy Sacrament with Mr. Coupar, while he continu'd in the Exercise of his Ministry, and was held and treated as a Minister, not only by the Body of this Parish, but by our Rulers and Judges, according to the Sense and Purport of our Laws.

It's

It's notoriously false, that the Sentence wasduly insimate against him. But let it be yielded, that Mr. Coupar offended in his Conduct. And what then? Ministers, or other Mens Violation of the Laws of God, doth not, 'tis confes'd, involve the Innocent in their Guilt. One would therefore think that a Ministers slighting the Sentence of an Ecclesiastick Judicatory, past, in his Opinion, clave errante, should not be interpreted to the Prejudice of another, who profess'd and paid all due Respect to Authority, and neglected nothing incumbent on him, for perfuading his Brother to fubmit thereunto. And this is really my Cafe. So that the Synod can never find me guilty of Contempt, which is an Act of the Mind, while I disclaim it, (as I heartily do) unless they know my Heart better than my felf, which is out of their reach; or except they show an express Act of the Church, declaring such an Ouvert Action of mine to be Contempt, and liable to fuch and fuch a Censure; and then withal prove, that fuch an Ecclesiastick Constitution was known to me, or ought to have been fo, which I am fure is impossible. There's indeed another way of finding me guilty of contemning their Authority; and that's by their Votes, in spite of Law and Reason. And here, I confess, I must succumb, and cannot stand. But then, I have a mighty Encouragement to support me; ev'n this,

this, that I fall a Sacrifice to their Sovereign Will and Pleasure, which is downright Tyranny, and that of the most odious and execrable Kind, as being exercis'd by Churchmen, whose Character and Profession bind them to the highest Pitch of Equity, Gentleness and Goodness to all Men. Besides, under the late strange Usage I have met with, I have given such an Evidence of a kind of facred and inviolable Respect to Order and Authority, as will, before all unbias'd Men, vindicate me from the very least Suspicion of being a Contemner of any establish'd Government. And now may I not justly and boldly say, had all, that I pleaded for my Exculpation, as to this Point, been dely confidered; particularly the Presbyterians Conduct towards Mr. Spense, present Minister of Fossuray, (gently touch'd in one of my Papers among other illegal and outragious Diforders) while he lay under the Censure of Deposition and Excommunication, it's scarce credible, the Synod could have had the Face, to find a mere imaginary Contempt to be a Ground of Deposition, in my Case? And I think, it may be further added, That when the Brethren have screw'd their Wit, and their Passion too, to the highest Peg, it will be hard to make it appear, that Mr. John Hepburn (a very zealous Presbyterian, Kara Tu'v a'npißesary's a'iperin, of the straitest Sect) did not more

ea

cl

al

to

fi

Ci

t

u

more insolently despise (than has been, or can be pretended, that I have done) the Authority of their Kirk, in all its Judicatories, and aggravate his Contempt by Deeds, as well as Words, and a continued Course of Disobedience to the present Ecclesiastick Government. notwithstanding all the kind and tender En. deavours, for reclaiming him. And yet a 1695, Self General Assembly judg'd it sufficient, to cha-17. Att 27. stise such a notorious and obstinate Delinquent, only with Suspension, and that foftn'd and fweetn'd in the mildest and most endearing Manner. The common Word, Show me the Man, and I will show thee the Law, will here very readily occur to the Thoughts of such, as are intelligent.

Negligence

2. I am found guilty of culpable Negligence, in omitting publick Diers of Catechifing, for four Years, or thereby. Had the Synod intended to deal fairly, they wou'd have added, That this happen'd, while I had not a Collegue, and groan'd under a Burthen too heavy for one Man; of which I bore more, than an equal Share; tho' half was all I undertook at my Entry here. But let that pass among other manifest Partialities, and let us see, what's inferr'd. Why, this culpable Negligence must be one Reason for the rigorous Sentence of Deposition. Per quam regulam? That's yet to seek. In Essect, this Article in the Sentence is absurd, as will easily

easily appear to all sensible Men. For the Libel charges me with Supine Negligence, of which I am not found guilty. And I have found this to be a common Axiom in Law, Ut Sententia sit conformis Libello, quia ultra id, quod in judicium deductum est, potestas judicis excedere non potest. Now as to the Point of Catechising, I urg'd that the Acts of the Church, enjoining the Degrees of Diligence, with Certification of fuch or fuch Cenfures for Negligence, might be condescended on. The Synod cou'd not, or wou'd not do this. I will therefore inform fuch as may be ignorant, There's an Act of an Af- 1649. Seff. fembly, renewing an Act of a former Assembly, 30. for a Day of Weekly Catechifing; and, because 23. those Diets were much neglected by many Ministers throughout the Kingdom, ordaining fuch negligent Ministers (upon Trial by Presbytries, once in the half Year) to be admonish'd for the first Fault; and if they amend not, to be sharply rebuked for the second; and if they yet amend not, to be Suspended. Now tho' it's plain, that this Act can never reach a Man in my Circumstances, yet I am content the Brethren improve it to the utmost Advantage. In the mean time, it concerns them who are so superciliously precise and severe towards others, to look a little home, and confider how an express peremptory Command of our Lord is slighted among themselves, with-

out Check or Censure (as was represented to to the Synod, but omitted in the Minutes p.6. and is above observ'd) and to mind what's Deut. 25. Written in the Law, Thou Shalt not have in the

Bag divers Weights, a great and a small, and that 13. Prov. 20. Word of the Wife Man, Divers Weights and

10. divers Measures are abomination to the Lord.

Declining the Confesfion of Faith.

3. My being charg'd with Heterodoxy in toSubscribe my Doctrine and Opinions, and declaring, when, for my Vindication, I was requir'd to Subscribe the Confession, as the Confession of my Faith, I cou'd not do it, except in a qualify'd Sense, is another Ground of the Sencence. Now there was no Heterodoxy in Doctrine, or Opinions prov'd against me, unless we take the Synods bare Word (no approv'd Standard, or infallible Oracle, I presume) for it. Who can brook their Boldness and Arrogance, in condemning, thro' my Sides, the most famous Orthodox Divines, nay, and the avow'd Do-Etrine of whole Protestant Churches? Authors of this new Sentence do quite mifrepresent what was requir'd of me as to the Point of Subscription. For I was once and again ask'd, if I wou'd Subscribe the Confession of Faith, as the Confession of my Faith, in all the Heads and Article; of it, and renounce all contrary Dostrines and Tenets, as it's expressy recorded in the Minutes, p. 3, 7. And fo far as I know, there's no Law of the State, nor Act of any Assembly,

et

in

10 C

m 0

V

10

t

a

in

fi

p

ti

li

N

1

p

10

tl

t

t

P

10

F

f

n

t

0

empow'ring the Synod to require Subscriptions in fuch Terms. After the Act of Parliament 1693, For settling the Peace and Quiet of the Church, the next Assembly agreed upon a Formula of Subscribing the Confession in the Terms 11. of the Act of Parliament. And it's very observable, that the First Assembly after the Revo- 1690, Att. lution exacts no more of Probationers Licens'd 7, 6 15. to preach, of all Intrants into the Ministry, and of all other Ministers and Elders, receiv'd into Communion, in Church Government, but simply to Subscribe the Confession of Faith, approv'd by former General Assemblies, and ratify'd in the fecond Session of the Current Parliament. And hence there feems to be fome Mistake in an Act of a very late Assembly, 1700, Att. Anent Subscribing the Confession of Faith, ap- 11. pointing all Ministers and ruling Elders, belonging to the National Church, to Subscribe the Confession of Faith, as the Confession of their Faith, according to the Alt of Assembly, 1690; whereas it appears, that there is no fuch thing. Had the Prudence and Moderation of of that First Assembly been imitated, as to the Point of Subscribing, perhaps there had been less Noise about Subscribing in qualify'd Senses. The true For my Part, I think, that to Subscribe a Con-genuine fession, or human Composure simply, implies Design & not my Assenting to every Proposition con-of Subscri tain'd in it, but only that I will not contradict, bing Conor oppose such a Formulary; or that, tho' I see Reason to dissent in some Articles, yet for Peace fake, I will pay a respectful Silence. As for my not expressing the qualify'd Sense, in which I was willing to Subscribe, and making Delays, as the Sentence here bears, I have treated of that Matter in the Revisal, to which I

The Defen refer. But indeed the Subscribing of the Condant not of fession was not incumbent on me in this Process. blig'd to subscribe. By the Libel I was only oblig'd to give an Ac-

count, why I refus'd to Subscribe it in the Year 1690, as I did, to the Satisfaction of all, who

had not refolv'd to be dissatisfy'd. And be-The Synod not author fides, it appear'd to me, that the Synod had riz'd to require Sub- no Authority to require Subscription; because scription.

tho' there be an Act of Parliament appointing Ministers to Subscribe the Confession as the Confession of their Faith, yet I was fully perswaded that Ecclesiastick Judicatories were not invested with Authority to execute Acts of Parliament, any further than concern'd those who were to be admitted, or assum'd into their Society, which was not my Cafe. Moreover, I

The Confes. fion not the know that one might be very Orthodox, who Test of Or-cou'd not Subscribe in the Sense now impos'd; thodoxy. as Augustin, (to ascend no higher) Prosper, Ful-

gentius, Remigius, (and to descend to the Reformers) Melanchthon, Calvin, Bucer, Musculus, Bullinger, &c. were they now alive, assuredly wou'd not. On the other hand, I consider'd,

that

that to Subscribe the Confession cou'd be no sufficient Purgation from, nor Preservative against erroneous Opinions. I presume, it will not be pretended, that our Presbyterian Ministers and Elders are not mistaken in any Point about Religion. And indeed after one has most cordially Subscrib'd, he might be for the divine Right of Prelacy, or for Erastianism, or for Bishop Usher's Model, or for Independency, or for the indifferency of all the controverted Forms: He might be for giving the Eucharist to the Sick, and to Infants; he might be a Chiliast, &c. For what's added, That I believ'd the Brethren themselves would not say, it's necessary to believe every single Proposition in the Confession of Faith to be a Divine Truth, I cann't fee what Error, or Fault is here, unless it be excess of Charity, or too great an Opinion of their Judgment and Moderation. If they will be pleas'd to pardon me this gross and heinous Offence, 1 promise there shall be no Occasion to reproach me a second time for the like. See the Revisal on this Point.

4. The Synod also found, that I Erroneously Judging judge, that Christ died for all to whom God falsly about the extent sends the Gospel, and that they are bought of christ's with a Price. But how they found this to be Death. an Error, whether by Scripture, Reason, or humane Authority, there's a prosound Silence. Now if it be the common Doctrine of the Antient Fathers, and of our Modern Divines and

fa

16

L

ai

01

ti

L

W

h

11

al

14

ic

N

I

f

C

ir

th

t

tl

n

10

t

a

t

1

Reformers, that the Death of Christ respects the whole Race of Mankind, according to the Scriptures, as certainly it is; then furely, it can never be found, that I have judg'd erroneously, in extending the Death of Christ to all those, whom God favours with the Light of the Gospel, till it is prov'd that both the antient and modern Churches have err'd in this Point. As to my maintaining, that Christ died in the room and stead of all, for whom he died, this being for reign to the Libel, is impertinently alledg'd, as the Ground of a Sentence against me: Perhaps, it's but a mere Logomachy, with which I never once troubl'd my Hearers. But fimply to deny, that Christ died in the room and stead of those, for whom he died, is judg'd to be a Socinian Tenet. follows, viz. That I maint ain that Christ hath purchas'd Pardon and Salvation conditionally for them, for whom he died, upon their Believing and Repentance, is no less absurdly set down, as a Reason for deposing me, there being no such Matter in the Libel. But the Doctrine is true and certain, according to the plain and constant Tenor of the Scripture. Is not this conditional Proposition, If thou wilt believe, thou Shalt be sav'd, the unquestionable Doctrine of the Gospel? If I had talk'd of conditional Decrees, there had been some Ground for quarelling with me. But to condemn me, for faying

faying to every one of my Hearers, if thou wilt repent and flee to the Mercy of God, thro' the Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt obtain Pardon and eternal Life (which is the true Importance of Christ's having purchas'd Pardon and Salvation conditionally for those, he laid down his Life for) is furprizing and aftonishing, beyond what I can express. It is the Doctrine that has been, and still is commonly receiv'd among Christians all the World over. I believe and profess it; I have preach'd it, and am firmly perfuaded, that all Pastors are commission'd so to do. And indeed I reckon it a Degree of Martyrdom, and a fingular Honour, in which I rejoyce, that I have been so severely censur'd, for one of the great and capital Truths of the Gospel. If after this (as Monsieur Claude faith, in the Discourse above cited) any be offended, that we speak and believe according to the Scripture, they themselves give just Ground to be offended with their being offended, and to reproach them that they will be wiser than God, and that their peevishness leads them to correct Scripture; which is an insupportable Temerity. In the last Clause of this Article there's a groß Mistake, viz. I am faid to affert, That none, who maintain the Truth opposite to this Error, do read or hear the Gospel without Prejudice: There being no such Words utter'd or writ by me. The Passage aim'd at, perhaps, is in my Answer to the Libel, in these Words, M

fa

16

L

01

ti

L

W

h

m

ar

ly

10

IV

1

fo

G

in

th

th

th

m

le

po

ti

a

to

P

0

h

Reformers, that the Death of Christ respects the whole Race of Mankind, according to the Scriptures, as certainly it is; then furely, it can never be found, that I have judg'd erroneously, in extending the Death of Christ to all those, whom God favours with the Light of the Gospel, till it is prov'd that both the antient and modern Churches have err'd in this Point. As to my maintaining, that Christ died in the room and stead of all, for whom he died, this being for reign to the Libel, is impertinently alledg'd, as the Ground of a Sentence against me: Perhaps, it's but a mere Logomachy, with which I never once troubl'd my Hearers. But fimply to deny, that Christ died in the room and stead of those, for whom he died, is judg'd to be a Socinian Tenet. follows, viz. That I maint ain that Christ hath purchas'd Pardon and Salvation conditionally for them, for whom he died, upon their Believing and Repentance, is no less absurdly set down, as a Reason for deposing me, there being no such Matter in the Libel. But the Doctrine is true and certain, according to the plain and constant Tenor of the Scripture. Is not this conditional Proposition, If thou wilt believe, thou Shalt be sav'd, the unquestionable Doctrine of the Gospel? If I had talk'd of conditional Decrees, there had been some Ground for quarelling with me. But to condemn me, for faying

faying to every one of my Hearers, if thou wilt repent and flee to the Mercy of God, thro' the Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt obtain Pardon and eternal Life (which is the true Importance of Christ's having purchas'd Pardon and Salvation conditionally for those, he laid down his Life for) is furprizing and astonishing, beyond what I can express. It is the Doctrine that has been, and still is commonly receiv'd among Christians all the World over. I believe and profess it; I have preach'd it, and am firmly perfuaded, that all Paftors are commission'd fo to do. And indeed I reckon it a Degree of Martyrdom, and a fingular Honour, in which Irejoyce, that I have been so severely censur'd, for one of the great and capital Truths of the Gospel. If after this (as Monfieur Claude saith, in the Discourse above cited) any be offended, that we speak and believe according to the Scripture, they themselves give just Ground to be offended with their being offended, and to reproach them that they will be wifer than God, and that their peevishness leads them to correct Scripture; which is an insupportable Temerity. In the last Clause of this Article there's a gross Mistake, viz. I am said to affert, That none, who maintain the Truth opposite to this Error, do read or hear the Gospel without Prejudice: There being no fuch Words utter'd or writ by me. The Passage aim'd at, perhaps, is in my Answer to the Libel, in these Words. M

fv

al tl

fo

t

n

f

1

\*See Append Words. \* Said I any more to my Hearers, than Sett. 5. St. Paul did to the Corinthians. And am not !. and are not all Preachers warranted to say to every one under our Charge, --- Ye are bought witha Price? And verily I am perswaded, this is the Belief of every one, that hears, or reads the Goffel without Prejudice.

5. The Synod found that I was guilty of re. Reflecting venant.

on the Co-flecting on the Covenant, on a National Fast. Day; appointed by the General Assembly, (I muft add, and by the Secret Council, whose Authority determin'd me to observe it) for Humilia. tion for breach of Covenant, as they word it. The Synod, or the Contrivers of this Sentence in the Synod's Name, are here also besides the Cushion. In the Libel there's nothing of my having reflected on the Covenant; but I am charg'd with what I cited out of a Presbyterian Pamphlet (Scotland's present 'Duty) vil That the Covenant was entred into for sinister and politick Ends, &c. The Brethren feem to have a rare Dexterity, and an admirable Sagacity, in finding whatever they please, tho' no where extant, but in their own Fan-What I cited and adopted out of that Discourse, however strain'd and rack'd by the most Diabolical Malice, can never be construed a Reflexion on the Covenant. Nor was any fuch thing design'd by me. My great Aim was, to make my Hearers fensible, how all had fwerv'd

sry

rel

swerv'd from the great Precepts of Christianity and Godliness: To which, as we are oblig'd by the fovereign Lord and Judge of the World, fo the People had, in those Times engag'd themselves, in a most solemn and awful Manner, by the Covenant. But suppose I had reflected on the Covenant, as I neither intended, nor did; cou'd this be a just Ground for deposing me? Doth not the Covenant stand condemn'd by an unrepeal'd Act of Parliament? There's indeed upon Record an Act and Decla- 1648, Jul. ration of a General Assembly against an Act of 28.5 eff. 18. Parliament and Committee of Estates. But I know not, if ever any Provincial Synod, before this Famous one, at Cupar, pro renata, adventur'd on fo pat a Contradiction to the supreme Judicatory of the Kingdom, as to censure a Minister for a mere alledg'd Approbation (in Effect, I neither approv'd, nor disapprov'd it, the thing being Alien to my Purpose) of an Act of Parliament. The last Point I am found guilty of is, That I charge the Presbyterians in Dunfermline to be guilty of scandalous and mischievous his Presby-Schism, unjustly. To do any thing unjustly is terian Pacertainly blame-worthy. But how appears it, rishioners that I charg'd them unjustly? If the Commissions schism. Arguments (in their Seasonable Admonition) against Mr. Hepburn be good, I having reason'd upon their Principles. If it was lawful to joyn with me in Sacris (as their Practice did M 2 shew,

shew, they believ'd it was) then it irrefraga. bly follows, that they were guilty of a scanda. lous and mischievous Schism, in not joyning. And what's the natural and necessary Confequence of this, deferves the most serious Confideration of all the Ministers of the Gospei. But now, let it be granted, that I had been guilty of an Act of injustice, in charging the Presbyterians here with Schism, out of a hear. ty Love to Order, Peace and Unity; and then I think it will be no great Arrogance to ask, by what Law of Christ, or Constitution of the Church, can this bold, but well-meant Act of mine, be the Ground of Deposition?

TheConclu-Remarks.

Such are the dangerous Errors, and other fion of the Miscarriages, for which I have been solemnly depos'd. Whether Jure, an injuria, the General Assembly, to which I have appeal'd, is to Judge. How that reverend Judicatory will proceed, and acquit it felf, thinking Men, on both sides, differ in their Conjectures. own Part, the utmost I wish, is, that next to the Honour of Religion, Truth, Piety, Charity and Peace, they may confult the good of our Country, and their own Reputation and real Interest. It's hop'd, the World will see, they have the Wisdom and Foresight, to take, and the Courage and Integrity to pursue those Meafures, which may prove most subservient to fuch worthy and noble Ends. But whatever

the Issue of this strange and unhappy Contest happens to be, I trust in God, that I shall enjoy a never-failing Source of Comfort and Repose. For I can sincerely, and do solemnly protest, it has been my Design and Endeavour according to that measure of Light and Capacity, the divine Goodness hath vouchsaf'd me, to teach People, in the Course of my Ministry, that heavenly Wisdom, " which acquaints us " with the Nature and Reason of true Reli- The Works " gion (to borrow the Words of an excellent row, D.D. Divine, and most accomplish'd Scholar) the Lon. 1683. " Mistake of which produceth so many Mis-" chiefs and Inconveniencies in the World, " and exposes so good a Name to so much re-" proach; even that Religion consisteth not in " fair Profession, and glorious Pretences, but " in real Practice; not in a pertinacious Adhe-" rence to any Sect or Party, but in a fincere " love of Goodness, and dislike of Naughtiness, " wherever discovering it self; not in vain o-" stentations and flourishes of outward Perfor-" mance, but in an inward good Complexion " of Mind, exerting it self in Works of true " Devotion and Charity; not in a nice Ortho-" doxy, or polite subjection of our Judgments " to the peremptory Dictates of Men, but in a " sincere love of Truth, in a hearty Approba-" tion of and Compliance with the Doctrines fundamentally good, and necessary to be be-" liev'd;

" liev'd; not in harsh censuring and virulently

" inveighing against others, but in careful a-

" mending our own Ways; not in a pecvish

" Crossness and obstinate repugnancy to recei-

" ved Laws and Customs, but in a quiet and

" peaceable Submission to the express Laws of

"God, and lawful Commands of Man; not in

" a furious Zeal for or against trivial Circum-

"flances, but in conscionable Practising the

" fubstantial Parts of Religion; not in a fre-

quent Talking or contentious Disputing a-

" bout it, but in a ready Observance of the un-

" questionable Rules and Prescripts of it. In

" a Word, that Religion consists in nothing

" elfe, but doing what becomes our Relation to

" God, in conformity or similitude to his Na-

"ture, and in a willing Obedience to his holy

" Will; to which by potent Incentives it allures

" and perswades us; by representing to us his

" transcendently-glorious Attributes, &c.

And now, come what will, I have firmly refolv'd, that all my Resentments shall still terminate in Compassion for this poor distracted Church, and in hearty ardent Prayers, that God may be pleas'd to endue all his Ministers and People with the Spirit of Love, and of a sound Mind.

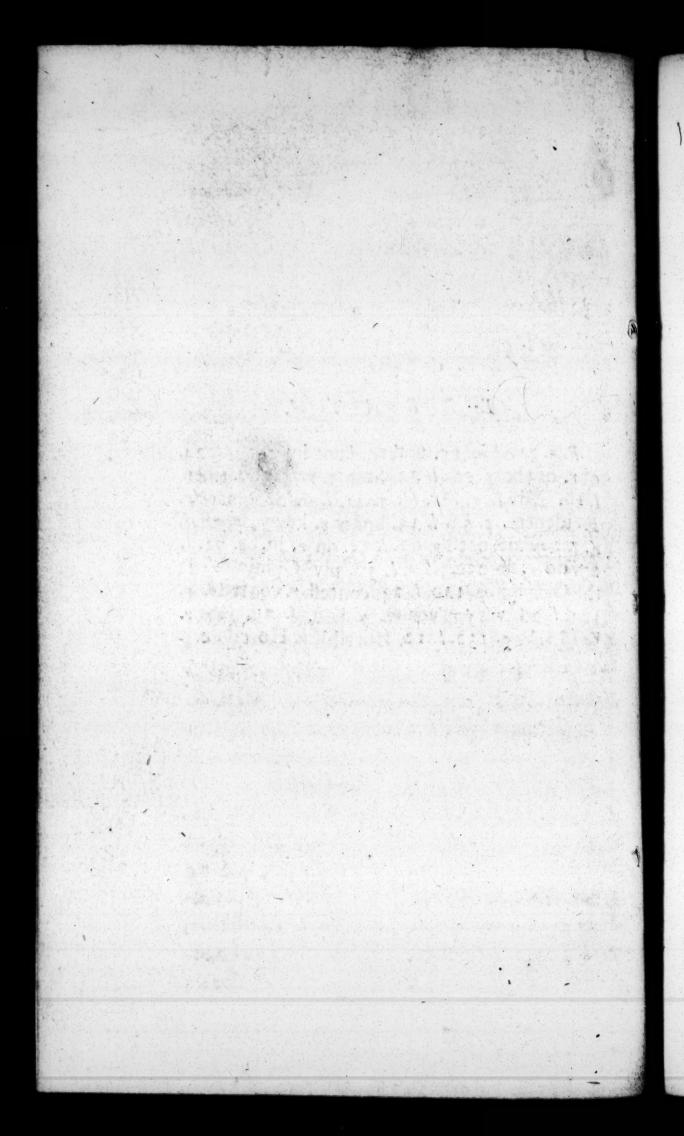
JA GRAME.

FINIS.



## ERRATA.

Pag. 21. Lin. 15. not, read not in. p. 24. l. 24. of r. of the. p. 26. l. 22. Sect. 3. r. Sect. 9. p. 41. l. 16. Mr. L. r. Mr. H. p. 44. l. 6. Sentences r. Evidences. p. 53. l. 13. know r. knew, p. 58. l. 4. me r. me not. p. 62. l. 15. on r. in. p. 72. l. 27. do r. do not. p. 80. l. 30. my Opinion r. in the Opinion. p. 120. l. 24. contest r. contests. p. 121. l. 26. very r. verily. p. 169. l. 29. τψν r. κατὰ τψν. p. 132. l. 12. Horrible r. Horribile.



(iii) Zelien musulman Xref

## THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY O

## For the Information of the READER;

Some preliminary Account of the following Epistle, which is now presented to the Publick; not but those who shall peruse it with an impartial Eye, will undoubtedly agree, by the Simplicity of the Style, that it wants no farther Interpretation.

However, as many perhaps may imagine this Work to be a meer Fiction, forg'd only by some evil-minded IN-

FIDEL, in order to strike at the Foundation of most Religions, by extenuating the Merits of that renowned Legislator of Antiquity, and the great Supporter of it; I find my self under a necessity to obviate this Prepossession, by informing my Readers, that the Author, far from being a Man bigotted to his Religion, or an Enthusiast mischievously inclin'd, is on the contrary one, who is actuated by no other Motive, but the pure Love of Truth; for the discovery of which, he daily labours with his utmost Efforts, by making a sincere and unbiass'd Enquiry into the different Opinions of Men concerning the Deity; which, if consistent with the Attributes of that supreme Being, he pays due Veneration to them, as grounded upon Truth: But on the other hand, should he find them repugnant to those very Attributes.

tributes, he entirely abhors them, as being the Offsprings of Falsbood.

Pursuant to this excellent Maxim, he has made a strict Enquiry, both into his own Religion, and that of the Jews; whereupon he has freely and genuinely communicated his Thoughts to this Rabby, who for a long time had endeavour'd to bring him over to the Jewish Religion. It was not the Musulman's Intention, that his Opinion upon this matter should be spread in the World, having desired Nathan not to let any one peruse his Letter; but this Jew, who is a plain honest Man, tho' prodigiously obstinate in his Belief, being in some measure startled, at the Force of his Antagonist's Reasonings, and unwilling to appear himself in the Publication of them, be intrusted me with the the Management of it, being desirous to be well inform'd what might be the Opinion of the Learned concerning this important Subject, before he either departed from his own Principles, or determin'd in favour of those which this Mahometan Doctor had made known to him.

The Account Zelim has given of Sosem, appears very just and conformable to the Traditions of the Jews. It is true, he thought it convenient to disguise some particular Names in his Letter, for which Licence, he has offer'd substantial Reasons to the Rabby; as for instance, where our Author mentions the Plagues of Egypt; amongst others, instead of that of Frogs, he calls it the Plague of Toads: For our Musulman says, and not without probability,

probability, that had the Egyptians had as nice a taste in eating as a Frenchman, an Italian, or a Spaniard, who are generally served with a dish of Frogs in their politest Entertainments, they would have chearfully receiv'd that Plague, rather as a Blessing from Heaven, than an Affliction sent to punish them; and after a Shower of Frogs, would have feasted most elegantly: Whereas, a Shower of Toads would have proved a real Plague to them, as being poisonous both to Men and Beasts. And indeed, 'tis my Opinion, the Word Frog instead of Toad, seems to be a mistaken Expression, inserted by the Hebrew Interpreters: For why may not this Notion bear as good a face of Truth with it, as that which the great and Learned Dr. B—t—y has lately given us in his fine

fine Edition of Milton, wherein he imputes the Errors and Mistakes in the former Editions, to the Ignorance of those who transcribed the Works of that celebrated Poet? Farewell.



forms in the anifold of Expression it ferted by the Holman secreptions: In-

sion, the Word Free selector

why was agt this Alvion bear good a face of This with is

that which the great and Learned is Boomstoon y has lately given us in the



## VENERABLE NATHAN,

N the last Conference I had with thee on the subject of Religion, thou didst tell me, thou wouldst no more dispute with me, unless I divested my-

felf of those Prepossessions, which I had imbib'd in favour of the Alcoran, and the Traditions of our Hodgias \*: For, according to thy Notion, it was impoffible to learn the Truth, from fuch as had an Interest to conceal it. Thou didst tell me also, that it was not right to embrace any Opinion, without first trying it by Reason, and that we ought to

believe

<sup>\*</sup> A Name given to the Divines in Turkey.

believe all things, only in proportion to their Probability and Possibility; for if we suffer'd our Faith to be the sole Director and Governour of our Understanding, we should easily be brought to assent to the most monstrous Absurdities and grofsest Falsities, and look upon them as the most incontestable Truths.

WHATEVER thou hast said to me on this head, appeareth so reasonable, that I resolv'd to examine and try my Religion by thy Principles. I flatter myself, that this tryal of my own Religion will not be disagreeable to thee, and when I have finish'd it, I hope thou wilt permit me to take the same liberty in inquiring into thine. 'Tis a Privilege which thou hast allow'd to be my Right, so that thou canst not be difpleas'd with me; unless thou art like most Priests, who are very ready and willing to give all Liberty and Encouragement to enquire into, and detect the

Im-

Impostures of others; but will by no means suffer us to make the least Examination into their own: The reason of this very unjust Proceeding, Nathan, is, they would gladly erect their own Dominion upon the ruin of others, but are very unwilling to be fo ferv'd themfelves.

THEREFORE I present thee with the History of our Legislator, and the Religion he establish'd among the Arabs, taken from those Authors, which can be least suspected of Partiality.

EIGHT Hundred and Eighty-one Years after the famous Victory, which Alexander obtained over Darius at Arbelles, in the Reign of Kofrou King of Persia; Muhamed, Son of Abdallah and Eminah, was born at Meccah, at break of day, on the eighth of the first Month Rabie; or, according to the Christian

Christiau Æra, on the ninth of April, 571\*. Eminah had been a Widow two Months, when she brought forth Muhamed into the World; his Grandfather by the Father's side, was obliged to take care of his Mother and him, and preserve them from Want: for all their Substance consisted in a few Cattle, which maintained the whole Family. Although the Father of Muhamed was poor, he was of the Tribe of Koreish, the most noble and distinguish'd among the Arabs†.

ABDOLMUTLEB provided this Infant with a Nurse, whose Name was Halimah, Native of Saad, in the Desart, where he was brought up till he was six Years old; at which time, she return'd him to his Mother, who died a little while after; and the Orphan remain'd in the

<sup>\*</sup> Ex Elmakino Histor. Saracen. apud Hottinger. Histor. Orient. lib. 1; cap. 6.

<sup>+</sup> Ex Elmakino, apud Hottinger. lib. 1. cap. 4.

the House of his Grandfather, so long as he liv'd: After his Death, Muhamed being then eight Years old, went to live with his Uncle Abutaleb, to whom Abdolmutleb had consided the care of his Education\*.

ABUTALEB being delighted to fee how greatly his Nephew profited by his Instructions, and observing that he had more Gravity, a greater Sagacity and Discernment than were ordinarily found in Children of his Age, thought it proper for him to travel, in order not only to cultivate and improve those excellent Talents, which Nature had bestow'd on him; but also, that he might by Traffick get a Sufficiency, to enable him to marry, at his return into his own Country: for his Uncle was in no condition to give him a Fortune.

To

<sup>\*</sup> Ex Elmakino, apud Hottinger. lib. 2. cap. 1.

To accomplish this, Abutaleb and Atecha his Wife, concluded together, to recommend him to the Service of Chadigah, the Widow of an eminent Merchant at Meccah, named Abdumenaf, who had left her prodigiously rich: She was a Woman of strict Religion, and good Morals; so that Abutaleb and Atecha were greatly rejoic'd, believing, that Muhamed could not fail of the Bleffing of God, while he was under the Patronage of Chadigah. Being thus admitted into her Service, he was appointed to look after her Camels, and went with these Animals to all the maritime Cities on the South side of Arabia, to bring from thence such Merchandizes, as were proper to be dispos'd of in Syria: But more especially Silks, of which the Luxury of Constantinople occasion'd a great Consumption.

MUHAMED, during the whole course of his Traffick, had always behav'd himself in so disinterested a manner, and render'd such just and exact Accounts to his Mistress, that she could not help conceiving a great Esteem for a Man, whose Faithfulness and Integrity shone forth in the midst of Adversity. He was then in the Bloom of his Age, and though his Person had nothing extraordinary in it; his pleasing Countenance, the Vivacity of his Looks, and that graceful Modesty, which accompanied all his Actions, had made fuch Impressions on the mind of Chadigab, that she became passionately in love with him, and from being her Servant, made him her Husband \*; preferring him to the wealthiest Merchants of Arabia, who had used their utmost Endeavours, to obtain so great a Happiness. MU-

<sup>\*</sup>Ex Abunazaro; de Pseudoprophet. Muhamed. lib. 2. apud Hotting. lib. 2. cap. 1.

MUHAMED being married, made it his constant Care and Employment, either out of Inclination or Gratitude. to be every way agreeable to his dear Benefactress. They lived many Years together in a perfect Union, and their days were attended with reciprocal marks of the greatest Tenderness, and sincerest Affection: But after they had been married fifteen Years, Muhamed being subject to the Falling-Sickness, and then at the age of Forty; his Fits returned oftner, and continued much longer, than when he was in the Vigour of Youth. These Fits, I say, and the Idea of so terrible a Distemper, made Chadigah almost repent that she had married him; and if the Esteem and Friendship she had for her Husband did not entirely grow cold on this account, at least his Careffes became difgufting and infupportable to her. Muhamed, whose Penetration was deep, could not be long before

before he perceived this extraordinary Change; and as he was a Man of the greatest Delicacy, it griev'd him exceedingly, to see himself despis'd by a Woman, who once even ador'd him: and what made it still the more vexatious to him, was, that he had not incurr'd her Disdain by any voluntary Offence; but meerly by a Missortune, which might befall the best of Men.

THEREFORE, in order to retrieve the Esteem and Affection of Chadigah, and his other Wives, which he had lost, only by a Frailty so common with the Female Sex; Muhamed thought the best thing he could do, was to persuade them, that what they call'd a dreadful Disease, or an Attack of the Epilepsy, was a real Extasy, into which he was transported by the sudden Appearance of Angels, who surrounded him, at which time, the Archangel Gabriel used to reveal himself, and make known to him

him the Secrets of God: That being unable to bear the Brightness, and great Glory of this Heavenly Messenger, it threw him into these holy Convulsions, as it had done all the Prophets before him \*.

Twas by this Method the crafty Arab conceal'd his Indisposition from his Wives; and from this trivial Invention it was, that the Muhamedan Religion took its Foundation, which hath since caused such great Revolutions in the World.

For, whether Chadigah did really believe all that her Husband communicated to her concerning his Revelations, or only pretended to give credit to them to indulge her Ambition, I shall not determine: However, she was the first, who declared publickly, that Mu-

hamed

<sup>\*</sup> Zonaras Annalium, apud Hotting. lib. 1. cap. 2. & lib. 2. cap. 3.

hamed held a Communication with Angels, and all that he thought or spoke, was immediately inspired by the Most High. In short, Chadigab, Zeid, Aly, and some others whom Muhamed had engaged in his Interest, labour'd incesfantly, and with all their Might, to procure him Converts and Disciples; which they effected with so much Success, that it alarm'd the Magistracy of Meccah, who immediately gave orders for the apprehending this new Prophet, that he might be put to death; but Muhamed being inform'd thereof, flew to Medina, where he was foon follow'd by his Adherents \*.

THIS Divine Apostle, seeing the Number of his Disciples was much increased, resolv'd to raise himself by their Credulity; and, by open Force, establish his Religion and Authority amongst the Arabs. To accomplish this,

\* Ex Elmakino, apud Hotting. lib. 2. cap. 4.

he gave the Standard of his Faith to his Grandfather *Hamza*, and sent him with thirty of his Disciples, or *Musulmen*, to try their Fortune; but they met with no Opportunity, to exercise their Valour against the Insidels.

In the second Year of the Hegira, Muhamed made another Expedition, which prov'd very fortunate: He put himself at the head of three Hundred and nineteen Musulmen, and attack'd on Friday the seventeenth Day of the Month Ramadan, a very rich Caravan, of nine Hundred, or a Thousand Koreishites, whereof he kill'd Seventy, and took the rest Prisoners; for at that time God fought for Muhamed, as he formerly had done for Sosem\*.

This

<sup>\*</sup> Muhamed, in order to inspire Courage in his Soldiers, told them, that God sought for them; for which reason, twenty Musulmen might sight two Hundred Insidels, and be able to overcome them.

This famous Battle was fought near a Well named Badr in Arabia: Muhamed in the Engagement lost fourteen Musulmen, who had the Glory of being the first Martyrs of his Religion\*. The Booty was very considerable, and it so greatly encouraged Muhamed, that after many

sosem also speaketh after the same manner unto the Children of Rael, saying; Hear, O Rael, you approach this day unto Battle against your Enemies: Let not your Hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them: For the Lord your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your Enemies, to save you. [Deu. cap. 20. v. 3, 4.] This good Expedient hath been, and is to this day used by all Nations. Bayle gives us a reason for it, in his Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets, chap. 131. As also Machiavel in his Discourse upon Titus Livius, lib. 3. cap. 13. and 33.

\* Ex Musulminis vero tanquam Martyres occubuerant viri 14. Habent enim Muhamedani Martyrum loco, quotquot in prœliis Religionis causa susceptis mactantur, &c. ex Elmakino, apud Hottinger. lib. 2. cap. 4. many other Expeditions, much more remarkable than this, he at last made himself master of Meccah, in the eighth Year of his Flight, or of the Hegira; and three Years after, on Monday the second Day \* of the first Month Rabie, he died of a Sickness, which held him thirteen Days, and was buried at Medina, being then in the sixty-third Year of his Age; Abubeker reigning over the Sarazens, and Heraclius over the Greeks: He left only one Daughter, named Phatema, who did not survive her Father above forty, tho' some say seventy Days †.

MUHAMED in his Person was well set, and of a middle Size; he had a large Head, a swarthy Complexion, tho of a lively Colour, with a modest Look; his Body was free and easy, his Address

<sup>\*</sup> According to Elmakin, he died the twelfth Day of the same Month.

<sup>+</sup> Ex Patricide, apud Hotting. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Address obliging and civil, his Conversation infinuating, his Understanding sine and courtly: he was eloquent, hardy, and contemn'd those Dangers, which others generally fear. This is the Picture of our glorious Apostle, drawn by a Christian\*, who being his Enemy, can no wise be thought to have slattered him.

I appeal to thee, Nathan! Have I not given thee a very impartial Account of my Prophet? Thou canst not charge me now with having tired thy Patience with infinite Quotations from the Alcount as was my custom formerly, when I disputed with thee: Nor have I troubled thee with relating all the Miracles, which, according to what our Hodgias and Imans say, preceded his Birth; I nor with

the kieht Lhave to emerge my

<sup>\*</sup> Chevreau Hist. du Monde, liv. 5. chap. 1.

<sup>+</sup> Iman is the first Priest of one of our Mosques, much like unto a Curate in his own Parish.

<sup>|</sup> Ex Elmakino, apud Hottinger. lib 1. cap.6.

with those which he wrought during his Life \*, as assonishing, or rather as extravagant as those, that thou dost attribute to thy Prophet: For it was my design to entertain thee with Facts, and not with ridiculous Fictions.

I protest that I am infinitely obliged to thee, for having made me sensible of the Right I have to exercise my Reason freely, by the Assistance of which, I have been able to see beyond all my former Prejudices, and to attain the Knowledge of these Truths, I have here communicated to thee. But how is it possible, worthy Nathan, that thou, who hast so clearly open'd my Eyes, and made me see the Errors of my Education, should'st still be blind to thine own?

Thou canst not forget how often thou hast told me, 'twas impossible that God

<sup>\*</sup> Hottinger. lib. 2. & Chevreau, lib. 5.

God should be the Author of the Alcas ran, because it contain'd things entirely repugnant to his infinite Goodness and Wisdom. Thou must furely remember, 'twas thou taught me, that God was a Being altogether perfect and unchangeable, and confequently can never alter that wise, eternal Order, by, which he governs the Universe; because that Order is perfect, and cannot be mended. If then these Notions of the Deity, which thou dost entertain, are just; and if it be true, that God can never do any thing contrary to his Attributes: How is it, and from what Motives wouldst thou persuade me to embrace thy Religion?

If thou hadst examin'd thy own System impartially, as I have done, thou wouldst find, it could never be the Offspring of the Divinity: Thou wouldst perceive and own, I say, that those frequent Conversations, which Sosem had

D

with the supreme Being, are as absurd, and more contrary to true Piety, than those, which *Muhamed* held with the Archangel *Gabriel*.

Thou wouldst agree with me, that he who is all Goodness, could never command and approve that great Injustice, and severe Cruelties, which Sosem perpetrated in his Name: In short, thou wouldst be perfectly convinced, that he had imposed upon the Jews, as Muhamed had on the Arabs.

Now, I fear thou wilt for sake the calm Guidance of Reason; I greatly fear, thou wilt suffer thy self to be hurried into Rage and Fury, to hear me treat thy Prophet as an Impostor: But if thou dost, the Fault will be thine, and

and thy Actions quite contrary to thy Principles.

THOU canst not but call to mind, that thou hast a Thousand times, and in the most violent and outrageous manner, called *Muhamed* an Impostor, whom I reverenced as the best below'd Messenger of God: I bore this without Anger, and wilt thou then be less cool, if I should now make Reprisals? To tell thee the Truth, thy Discourses have often consounded me, and fill'd me with Horror, so prophane, so impious did they seem to me; but my Prejudices were the Cause thereos.

SUFFER me then to tell thee, without Reserve, my Sentiments of Sosem, and hear me with as much Patience as I heard thee, when thou freely D 2 spokest

fpokest thine of Muhamed: In disputing with thee I will make use of no Weapons, but impartial Examination and just Reasoning; my Right to them thou hast already acknowledged. Therefore defend thyself if thou canst with the same Arms, and by no means let thy natural Good-humour depart from thee; for if thou dost, it will evidently prove, that thou art not able to answer my Objections by solid Arguments, and thy Rage will serve only to expose thy Weakness.

I will first give thee the History of Sosem, from a very judicious Author, and then will examine that sabulous one, which thou dost admire as a Divine Work; that thou mayst judge which of the two is the most reasonable, and most worthy of Assent.

In one Account, saith he, a number of Writers concur; that when Egypt was over-run by a pestilent Disease, contaminating living Bodies \*, and very foul to behold; Bochoris the King, applying for a Remedy to the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon, was ordered to purge his Kingdom, and to remove into another Country, that Generation of Men fo detested by the Deities. Hence, when they were all fearched out, and the Multitude swept together, carried into the immense Desarts, and there abandoned: whilft all continued wailing under Aftonishment and Despair; Sosem, one of these Exiles, exhorted them to entertain no hopes of Relief from Gods or Men, fince both by Gods and Men they had been forsaken; but in himfelf

<sup>\*</sup> Leprofy.

himself to trust, as to a Leader sent from Heaven, one by whose Aid they should vanquish their present Misery and Distress.

THEY affented, and utterly ignorant of whatever was to befall them, began to journey on at random; but nothing aggrieved them so forely as want of Water. Already they were lying scattered over the Plains, ready to perish; when a Flock of wild Asses, leaving their Pasture, climbed up a rocky Mountain, covered with a thick Wood. Sosem followed them, forming a Conjecture from the fingular Verdure of the Herbage, and there discovered some large Springs. This proved their Solacement and Relief; and travelling for fix Days, without intermiffion, on the feventh they gained a Settlement,

tlement, by exterminating the Inhabitants. There they raised their City, there founded and dedicated their Temple.

SOSEM, to ensure the Subjection of the Nation to himself for ever, established religious Ordinances altogether new, and opposite to those of all other Men and Countries\*.

Thus thou seest in what manner Sosem and his People went out of E-gypt. Tell me, Nathan, if this Account from Tacitus, prophane as thou dost call it, is not more probable, than that which is deliver'd to thee in Doxeus,

and

<sup>\*</sup> Here I have taken the liberty to quote this Passage from the excellent Translation of Tacitus, by Mr. Thomas Gordon, which is the best extant. Vol. 2. pag. 303. Tacit. Histor. lib. 5.

and thou esteemest sacred? It is no wise burthen'd with Fiction, or darken'd with Miracles; in one word, it is natural, and if it be not the true History of thy People, it has nevertheless nothing impossible in it.

FAR unlike is that Relation, to which thou dost pay so sacred a Regard: Thine is, if I may speak plainly, a Collection of Fables, wretchedly invented, without Connection or Order, as extravagant as they are impious; and consequently as shocking to Human Understanding, as they are contrary to the Divine Being.

For these Reasons, Nathan, I maintain that the Account given by Tacitus doth reslect more Glory on Sosem, and more Honour on the Jewish Nation, than

than that of *Doxeus*: For, what Breast is there that would not feel Compassion for a wretched People, banish'd their Country, and miserably afflicted with the Leprosy? Who is the Man, that would not give due Honour to Sosem for his Wisdom and Goodness, in comforting and reanimating his Companions, who depress'd with the Load of so many Missortunes, had lost all Courage, and would have inevitably perish'd, had not he arose to their Deliverance, and enliven'd them with Hopes?

It is true, Sosem deceived them, making them believe, that he was a Guide sent from Heaven, that they might submit themselves to him: But was it not better for that miserable People to become subject to some one, who could assist them in their present Affictions,

flictions, than to die enraged against God and Men, for want of Succour?

Country; where, after having exterminated the Inhabitants, he made a Settlement for himself, and his People: This must be acknowledged to have been great Injustice and Cruelty; but all this is nothing, to what thou art going to hear; give good Attention thereunto, and I am sure thou wilt never more sollicit me to be a Jew.

DOXEUS then giveth us the following Description: That God gave unto Sosem Power to work Miracles before Bochoris, in order that this Egyptian, being made sensible of his Omnipotence, he might let the Jews go out of Egypt; but at the same time, had

harden'd the Heart of this King; that is, had taken from him the power of granting, what he had order'd Sosem to demand in his Name \*: So that Bochoris three times refused Sosem and his Brother Nahor to let the People go; for God would have it so, having harden'd his Heart +; not with standing which, God punish'd him severely, as if he had been culpable, changing the Water of Egypt into a reddish Slime; covering the Land, and filling the Houses of the Egyptians with Toads ||. It is not amiss to remark here, that all the People of Egypt were afflicted with these Plagues, and forc'd to share in the Mifery, though they were not at all inform'd of what pass'd between their King and Sofem.

E 2 GOD

<sup>\*</sup> Dox. cap. 4. v. 21.

<sup>†</sup> Dox. cap. 5. v. 1, 2. & cap. 7. v.2, 3, 4.

<sup>|</sup> Dox. cap. 8. v. 3, 6.

GOD sent Sosem a fourth time unto Bochoris, to acquaint him, that if he did not let the Jews depart, he would fill Egypt with Butterflies of every kind, which should infect all the Country \*. The King, who had already found, by severe Experience, the Power of the God of Rael, sent for Sosem and Nahor; and promised them, that they and their People should go and sacrifice to their God, if they would save him from the Plague of Butterflies +. Poor afflicted Bochoris gave this Permission unto Sosem with great Joy, thinking to escape the Evil that he threatned him with: But God hinder'd him from fulfilling his Intention, by hardning his Heart again; so Sosem dispers'd the Plague

<sup>\*</sup> Dox. cap. 8. v. 21.

<sup>+</sup> Ibid. v. 25, 28.

Plague of Butterflies, to no purpose; for the King was disabled from keeping his Word \*.

Thus did God continue to harden the Heart of Bochoris +, that he might more obstinately refuse, what He had order'd Sosem to demand of him; and this for the cruel Satisfaction of afflicting him a long time, and with variety of Miseries ||.

At last, God being almost weary of tormenting this unfortunate Prince, said unto Sosem, that He would smite him with but one Plague more; after that, he would let the People of Rael go out of Egypt ‡. Having then as usual harden'd

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. v. 32.

<sup>†</sup> Dox. cap. 9. v. 12.

<sup>|</sup> Ibid. v. 24, 25. cap. 10. v. 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 27.

<sup>‡</sup> Dox. cap. 11. v. 1.

den'd the Heart of Bochoris, so that he refused to let the Jews depart, God smote him with this last Plague, that He might punish him for a Disobedience, of which Himself was the Cause.

But now, Nathan, remark well what Sosem maketh God to say, and thou wilt be more and more convinc'd of the false Idea, that he had of the E-ternal Being. Thou hast seen already, that he hath represented the Deity unjust and cruel, and now he maketh him ignorant also.

I will pass this Night, saith God, through the Land of Egypt, and I will smite all the first born, both Man and Beast: The Blood, with which you shall mark your Houses, shall distinguish you from the Egyptians; for when I shall

fee that Blood, I will kill no Person in that House: By this means, shall you escape the Stroke of Death, with which I will smite all the Land \*.

OBSERVE this, Nathan, thy God, fearing in this Massacre, that He should slay the Jew with the Egyptian, because they dwelt one among another, was forced to have the Houses of the Hebrews mark'd with Blood, lest He should mistake. Such an Expedient as this might have been necessary to an Assassin, liable to err; but it was by no means consistent with the Infallibility of a God, who knows all things, and cannot be deceived. What strange, what horrid Notions of Deity are these!

THE

<sup>\*</sup> Dox. cap. 12. v. 12, 13.

THE unhappy and innocent Bochois, after this bloody Plague, having his
Heart no more harden'd, order'd Sosem
and Nahor to come before him, and
faid to them; rise up, and get you forth
from amongst my People, both you, and
the Children of Rael; go, and sacrifice unto your God: Take with you
your Oxen and your Sheep, and when
you are departed from me, pray unto
your God for me \*.

Thus the King, as foon as God permitted, let the People freely go; but the Holy Prophet, not liking to depart with empty hands, commanded the

<sup>\*</sup> Thy Prophet here giveth himself the Lye; for a little before he had said unto Bochoris, that he would never see him more, [Dox. cap. 10. v. 29.] and nevertheless, he afterwards came again into his Presence, Dox. cap. 12. v. 31, 32.

the Jews, by Authority from God, to borrow of their best Friends amongst the Egyptians, their Vessels of Gold and Silver, and the richest of their Garments, and to carry them away with them: The Jews obey'd readily, and then departed with Sosem out of E-gypt\*.

I defy thee, Nathan, to find me in all the Alcoran one Passage, wherein God hath ever commanded Musulmen to commit so persidious a Robbery.

Notwithstanding all this, Bochoris and his People thought themselves blest, that they had got rid of so
terrible a Plague; but their Happiness
was of very short Duration: For God,
who had resolv'd to sacrifice to his
Rage,

<sup>\*</sup> Dox. cap. 11. v. 2. & cap. 12. v. 35, 36.

Rage, this King and his innocent Subjects, harden'd again the Hearts of Bochoris, and of the Egyptians, that they
might pursue the Jews, and bring them
back into Egypt\*; so that King and his
People, being forced to obey the AllPowerful, follow'd the Hebrews; but
God stopped them, and drowned them
in the Sea †.

THUS endeth this excellent Tragicomedy; and the God of Sosem, by an unheard of Injustice, made his Power known to the Children of Rael ||.

I am very certain, Nathan, that if this History, which I have given thee, had been found in the Alcoran, or in the

<sup>\*</sup> Dox. cap. 14. v. 4. 8. 17.

<sup>+</sup> Ibid. v. 26, & feq.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. v. 31.

the Gospel, thou wouldst stand in no need of any Person to show thee the Extravagance, Imposfibility and Impiety thereof; for I know no man of more excellent Discernment, and better Distinction in the most abstruse Cases, where thou art at liberty to use thy Reason, and follow the Light of thy Judgment: But as this Account unfortunately happeneth to be in a Book, which thou darest not to examine, nor call any thing thereof in question, looking upon it throughout, as facred and indifputable; I think it my Duty to place this relation before thee in another light, if possible, to render thee sensible of thy Blindness.

IMAGINE then with thyself, that there is an *Island*, wherein liveth a King so powerful, that his Subjects are obliged agreeable or disagreeable. This King, resolving to live in some other Part of his Kingdom, embarketh with a sleet of sifty Sail of Men of War, with very sew Attendants: Being put out to sea, within a small distance from the Island, it cometh into his mind to have all his Lords and Officers of his Court with him.

To this end, he sendeth an Order unto the Governour of the Island, where by he requireth that his Court should immediately attend him: His Minister obeyeth his Order, and when they are just ready to depart, he doth secretly dispatch a Counter-Order unto the Governour, not to let them go. Notwithstanding which, the King is impatient, and highly displeased, that his Court is

not come to join him: He blameth the Governour exceedingly, and threateneth to have both his Arms broke, if he doth not make his Court depart instantly.

THE Minister is now going to execute the King's Command, when he receiveth a private Letter from his Royal Master, charging him by no means to perform his last Order: The Governour, according thereunto, retaineth the Court still in the Island. The next day, the King sendeth, and hath the Governour's Arms broken, and threateneth him also with breaking his Legs, if he doth not without delay make his Court come unto him.

This poor Minister, always faithful to the last Commands of his Prince, giveth Orders for the Court's Departure, and accompanied them himself; but on their way meeteth a Messenger from the King, to tell him, that his Majesty would not have them come: Obedient to this new Instruction, the Governour and the Nobles return to their Habitations.

THIS unfortunate Minister however had his Legs broke, and the King ordereth all the Inhabitants of the Island to be punish'd in the same manner; none were exempted, but the Officers of his Court.

WHEN his Majesty had diverted himself for some time in this delightful manner, he sendeth an Express unto the Governour, that his Court should immediately imbark on a Frigate, that lay ready in the Harbour, which was

executed accordingly. Scarce had they fet sail, when the King dispatch'd another Messenger, ordering the Governmour and all the Inhabitants, with all speed to follow his Court, and bring them back into the Island.

Ken Arms and Legs, is yet obedient, and causeth himself to be carried in a Litter, and put on board an old shatter'd Ship; the unhappy People, in the same miserable Condition, employ all their Horses, Mules, Asses and other Beasts, to draw them upon Chariots on board a great number of small Barks, which lay along the Shoar, and in less than two Hours they came up with the Frigate, and the King's Fleet, that was not above six Miles distant.

THEY

THEY were going on board the Frigate, according to his Majesty's Command; when the King, seeing them approach, order'd his Admiral and the other Captains instantly to fire on the small Ship, wherein was the Governour; as also on the Barks, and to sink them all. Thus did this most excellent King destroy a whole Nation, that had been ever submissive to him, to display unto his Court the greatness of his Power.

This Fable, which I have related unto thee, Nathan, is so parallel, and has such a perfect resemblance with the foregoing, that it would be idle to offer any Explanation. I shall only say this unto thee, that if thou approves the Actions of this King, as they are exactly

exactly like those which Doxeus ascribeth unto the Most High; thou wilt pronounce a very execrable Blasphemy: for thou dost utterly subvert the Justice, Goodness, and infinite Wisdom of the Divine Being; thou makest a most horrible Monster of the Deity.

Now, if thou dost condemn these Actions, as I have no doubt but thou wilt; how will it be possible for thee ever to believe, that God, infinitely wise, just and good, could commit the same Wickedness, and Injustice, or be possess'd with so cruel a Frenzy as that, which maketh the Guilt of this detestable Monarch?

SURELY, sublime Nathan, it would be better for thee to be an Atheist, than

G

to worship a Being, chargeable with such enormous Crimes and Iniquities; for Impersections and Wickedness must certainly be more contrary to the Nature, more injurious to the Honour of the true God, than even the denying his Existence\*.

I know, Nathan, that thou wilt reply unto me in justification of his Conduct, with regard to Bochoris, that God hath all Power, and may do what pleaseth him: But rest not thyself there, for even that Opinion is impious; it being impossible, that God should act any thing contradictory to his Attributes, and inconsistent with his infinite Perfections; as the most ingenious Apostle of Na-

<sup>\*</sup> See what the learned Mr. Bayle has faid on this Subject in his Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets, chap. 115, 117, 119, 120, 132. Idem, Continuation of his Thoughts, &c. chap. 76,77.

Nazarus hath pretended; saying, that as the Potter hath Power over the Clay, to make what Vessels he pleaseth; so God hath like Power over his Creatures, and may do with them what he will; and he endeavoureth to authorize this Doctrine, by the Conduct of God to Bochoris\*.

But, good Nathan, this Doctrine is wicked and abominable; a particular Friend of mine hath entirely demonstrated the Heinousness and Impiety thereoft. I could wish thou wouldst read his Writings, they will afford thee a thousand times more Instruction, than I can possibly communicate in this Letter. I am sure, when thou hast read G 2 them,

\* Ad Rom. cap. 9. v. 17, & feq.

<sup>+</sup> The Count of Passerano, in his Discourses Historical and Political; Discourse the third. This Work will speedily be publish'd.

to worship a Being, chargeable with such enormous Crimes and Iniquities; for Impersections and Wickedness must certainly be more contrary to the Nature, more injurious to the Honour of the true God, than even the denying his Existence\*.

I know, Nathan, that thou wilt reply unto me in justification of his Conduct, with regard to Bochoris, that God hath all Power, and may do what pleaseth him: But rest not thyself there, for even that Opinion is impious; it being impossible, that God should act any thing contradictory to his Attributes, and inconsistent with his infinite Perfections; as the most ingenious Apostle of Na-

<sup>\*</sup> See what the learned Mr. Bayle has faid on this Subject in his Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets, chap. 115, 117, 119, 120, 132. Idem, Continuation of his Thoughts, &c. chap. 76,77.

Nazarus hath pretended; saying, that as the Potter hath Power over the Clay, to make what Vessels he pleaseth; so God hath like Power over his Creatures, and may do with them what he will; and he endeavoureth to authorize this Doctrine, by the Conduct of God to Bochoris\*.

But, good Nathan, this Doctrine is wicked and abominable; a particular Friend of mine hath entirely demonstrated the Heinousness and Impiety thereoft. I could wish thou wouldst read his Writings, they will afford thee a thousand times more Instruction, than I can possibly communicate in this Letter. I am sure, when thou hast read G 2 them,

\* Ad Rom. cap. 9. v. 17, & feq.

<sup>+</sup> The Count of Passerano, in his Discourses Historical and Political; Discourse the third. This Work will speedily be publish'd.

them, thou wilt thank me for recommending them unto thee.

BESIDES, when Sosem was got out of Egypt, he exercis'd the greatest Cruchties towards many Nations; he was not satisfied with driving the Inhabitants out of their Country, and robbing them of all their Possessions; but with insatiate Slaughter unmercifully butcher'd them, sparing neither Woman nor Child; not even Insant's Innocence, or Virgin's Beauty and Modesty, could move his Compassion: This was the terrible Lot of the Chananites\*, Amorites\*, Midianites, and many others‡.

ÌŃ

Nu. cap. 21. v. 3.

<sup>+</sup> Ibid. v. 24.

Nu. cap. 31. v. 7, 17.

<sup>‡</sup> Idem, cap. 21. v. 33, & feq.

In this respect, Sosem can never be compared to Muhamed: 'Tis true, the Introduction of their Religions was alike, as they were both the Offspring of their own Genius and Ambition, and as they both propagated them by force of Arms; with this very great Difference, that Muhamed acted like Alexander the Great in all his Conquests, and Sosem like unto the Spaniards.

FOR Muhamed received generously, and with open Arms, all who would submit to his Laws; he indeed put the obstinate to death, but he ever spar'd the innocent Blood of Women, Virgins and Infants. In short, he commanded his Followers never to disturb, but to treat as Brethren, all who would obey the Alcoran\*.

<sup>\*</sup> See Chapter the ninth of the Alcoran.

On the contrary, Sosem slaughter'd whole Nations, without offering or accepting any Conditions of Mercy; as did those shocking, inhuman Monsters the Spaniards, when they fell upon the People of Peru and Mexico\*. Nay, Sosem, even just before his Death, order'd the Hebrews, in the name of God, to exterminate many more Nations †.

MOREOVER, excellent Nathan, my Prophet was a good Father to the Mu-Julmen, as long as he liv'd; and thine

was

<sup>\*</sup> See Bartholomeo de las Casas Destruicion de las Indias.

<sup>+—</sup>of the Cities which thy God doth give thee, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites; the Canaanites, and the Perizzites; the Hivites, and the Febusites; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee. De. chap. 20. v. 16, 17. See also chap. 31. v. 3, 4, 5.

was a cruel and avaricious Tyrant to the Jews: if thou canst yet doubt thereof, I will prove it unto thee in another Letter.

In the mean while, let this be to the Honour and Glory of the true God, and to the Confusion of these Impostors.

London, 23 of the Moon Maharram, in the Year of the Hegira 1108. and of Christ, 1731.

I am,

Thy Sincere Friend,

ZELIM MUSULMAN.

FINIS.

## TO

## Mr. THOMAS HEARNE.

SIR,

LONG with this I fend, as you command me, the Account of the Urns, and other Antiquities, digg'd up in this Neighbourhood. Twas address'd, as you see, to Sir Christopher Wren, who return'd it back after a very short time, desiring it might be printed. That was the only Thing in which I ever differed in Opinion from him: and tho' Four Years have pass'd since, I cannot but yet retain my first Sentiments, in which I am confident you'll join me. 'Twas wrote during a few Days that I was under an Indisposition that suffered me to stir very little abroad. Those Antiquities being then newly discovered, and at a Juncture too when Studies of greater Application were not proper

proper for the State in which I happened to be, I turn'd my Thoughts upon these. I did that partly for my Diversion, and to pass away the Time: and partly to shew a Gentleman, who visited me daily, and had otherwise a great deal of Wit, but was wont to flight fuch Things, that they were useless only to those who either wanted Capacity, or Attention to reflect rightly upon them. The Paper that Sir Christopher Wren sent back is either lost or missaid: and this is copied from fuch Scraps as I happened to keep by me. Only I have added the Authorities and Passages of the Antients; which, I think, were not in that. One who judges so well of Things, and with the Exactness that you always do, will soon discern a great Number of Faults in it; but by those you'll see tis genuine, and that I wrote it; which I flatter myself will intitle it to Pardon with a Gentleman that has the Goodness to be so partial and favourable to me as you ever are.

Namque in solebas

Meas esse aliquid putare mugas.

And yet I fear you'll hardly forbear thinking me too lavish and profuse when I am treating of this Town. Tho' if you knew how great an Admirer I am of it, you would rather wonder that I exceeded not even those Bounds. TheBasse-Reliefe upon the Monument, in which Time [the God Chronus] is represented raising the City [the Dea Londinia]out of Ruins, brought to my Mind the Passage of Claudian. This probably Mr. Cibber had likewise in view when he design'd that Work, which is much the finest of the Kind in all the City.

As my Health returned, Matters of greater Exigence pressing in, took me off from these Pursuits. So that you'll be the less surprized to see so many Marks of Hurry and Precipitance, as you will towards the End. The Two Paragraphs relating to the early Times of the Christian Religion I was going to have retrench'd. But I lest them standing on-

ly as Memorials for Enquiry, and farther Consideration; being far from intending to assert any thing positively in an Affair that I had not Time thorowly to consider.

You'll find a pretty full and particular Description of that part of London-Wall that join'd to Bishops-Gate. It consisted of Three different Sorts of Work, raised in Three several Ranges, one over another. Any one who has the Curiofity to fee a Sample of the uppermost, yet standing, may do it on each Side Moorgate, for a confiderable Extent: as also of the middlemost; especially on the West side of that Gate, at the Distance of about 20 or 30 Paces, where 'tis yet firm, and has suffered very little Dilapidation. Of the lowest, or Roman Work, there are considerable Remains, on the Southside of Aldgate, in the Place call'd the Vineyard. And about the middle of Hounds-ditch there's yet standing one of the Towers of that Wall pretty intire. 'Tis compos'd of Stone, with Layers of Brick interpos'd, after the Roman Manner: and is the most considerable Remain of Roman Workmanship yet extant in any Part of England that I know of, being 26 Foot in Height. By this Judgment may be formed of the Original Height of the Roman Wall about London. Which must have been vastly great; especially if the Surface of the Ground thereabouts has been rais'd in the same Proportion that it hath in other Parts of the City. For, in finking, upon feveral Occasions, the Workmen, in some Places, have pass'd thorow Six, in others Twelve, nay, Twenty, Foot of Rubbish, before they came to the natural Earth. Which may serve as a farther Enforcement of what I have offered relating to the Insults and Havock that the City hath sustain'd in former Times.

Since that Letter was wrote there's publish'd a Commentary upon the Itinerary of Antoninus thorow Britain, wrote by a Gentleman who carries a very high Character with all that are Judges of Learning. There are a great Number of Things,

Things, very Curious, and of real Uses now first advanced in this Work: and several relating to the Antient State of But yet there are some to which I am perfuaded, Sir, you'll not fo readily give Assent: and in particular to that Conjecture that London was first built on the South side of the Thames \*. What induced him to this Opinion was, First, That Ptolemy places London in Kent. Secondly, That the Fields betwixt Lambeth and Southwark have been, from Time Immemorial, a Royal Demean. Thirdly, That Three Roman Highways met there. That there was a Castrum or Roman Town there. This he collects partly from Southwark, retaining still the Name of the Burrough, which was the Name given by the Saxons to those Towns: and partly from Roman Coins, tesselated Pavements, and Bricks, that were digg'd up in St. George's Fields.

As

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Gale Com. in Anton. Iter. p. 64, 65.

As to Ptolemy, he liv'd at a great Distance: and in a Country that had no Intercourse with Britain. So that 'tis the less strange that he should not have right Information of Things here. He has committed no small Errors in his placing of Towns in Countries that were much nearer to him; of which I shall give some Instances, on another Occasion, when I come to consider an Opinion, started not long ago, about a Change in the Latitude of Places \*. Tacitus had a most exact Intelligence of the Affairs of Britain; and was, of the two, somewhat the older Writer. So that if London had been first built in Kent, and standing therein the Time of Ptolemy, it must needs have frood there in the Time of Tacitus. But that it certainly did not. This is plain from his Account of the march of Suetonius Paulinus: and the Action of Boudicea at Camulodunum: her causing her Army to fall upon London and Verulam at

. V. Nat. Hift. of the Earth, Part I.

at once, and involve both in the same Ruin\*. Or, if there were no other Proof, what he observes of the Sweetness of the Place +, and Happiness of the Situation of London, suits rightly and well to this, but not by any means to that fide of the River. This every one must admit at first View; besides, that in those Times Things were there in much worse Condition, than in ours. The Tract of Land he mentions is flat and low: and a great part of it was then in the Power of the Thames, and under Water every high Tide; till that River was, in After-ages, restrained, and kept to the Channel, by Banks caft up with an incredibly great Labour and Expense. Not but that there might be some part of St. George's Fields that was not overflowed: and there probably, at some Time or other, was a Roman Habitation, or Castrum; whereof the Pavements, Bricks, and other Antiquities, which that excellent Writer mentions,

<sup>\*</sup> Eadem Clades. Annal. L. XIV. c. 33. + Loci Dulcedo ibid.

tions, might be Remains. But there have been other like Antiquities discovered, from that Place, onwards, for some Miles Eastward, near the Lock, in the Gardens, along the South-side of Deptford-Road, a little beyond Deptford, on Black-Heath, &c. There's no doubt but, Sir, you have observ'd the Coin of Cunobelin, in the first Table of Cambden, that exhibits an Head with two Faces, in manner of a Janus bifrons. I have now in my Custody the Head of an antient Terminus, likewise with two Faces. This probably was only a Piece of British Imitation of Roman Work. But there were found along with it, large flat Bricks, and other Antiquities, that were unquestionably Roman. All these were retrieved, about Twenty Years since, in Digging in Mr. Cole's Gardens, by the Road mentioned above. I have seen likewise a Simpulum that was digg'd up near New-Cross. And there were several Years ago discovered two Urns, and five or fix of those Viols that are usually called Lachrymatories, a little Ba

little beyond Deptford. Nay, there hath been, very lately, a great Number of Urns, and other Things, discover'd on Black-Heath. All which prove nothing more than that there were Habitations, probably scattering, and at Intervals, all along that, which was doubtless a Roman Road. Indeed the Terminus, found just by, adds some Confirmation to this Opinion. Besides, in several Places, lying all nearly in a Line, and particularly a little on this fide Shooters Hill, where the Country is flat and low, I formerly took Notice of some Remains of a rais'd or high Way, like those, cast up by the Romans, that I have observed in Somersetshire, Oxford-shire, Glocester-shire, and other Parts of England. The Argument, that the Fields between Lambeth and Southwark were a Royal Demean, proves quite contrary to what 'tis brought for, rather

That was four or five years ago: and being unwilling to rely upon my Memory too far, I got Mr. Hutchinson, a very intelligent Geneleman, to ride thither this Morning, and take a Review of this Way. It is about four Foot in Height, and at least forty in Breadth. He observed it for near a Quarter of a Mile in Length. The Place is call'd Green Common.

rather that those Fields were gain'd from the Thames, than that London ever stood there. The Kings of England were, from our oldest Notices of Things, intitled by the Laws to all fuch Land as lay betwint high and low Water Mark; and was gain'd from either the Sea, or such Rivers as ebb'd and flow'd: but none of our Kings ever pretended any Right or Title to this, more than to every other City of the Kingdom. Nor can any Thing be inferr'd from that Meeting of the three Ways that this learned Gentleman infifts upon. Of which side the River soever London stood, there can be no Doubt but there would be Ways to it from all Parts of Britain; it being at that Time a Town so large, populous, and fam'd for Trafic, and plenty of Provisions +. Which rightly reflected upon, is indeed alone enough to evince that it did not then stand on that side the Water.

I have some other Things to offer to your Consideration; but, very happily, for your Quiet and Respite, I'm interrupted, and can only further have the Pleasure of Subscribing myself, what I truly am, with great Esteem,

Sir,

Your very faithful humble Servant,

Gresham College Novemb. the 30. 1711:

7. Woodward.

THE

## THE

## CONTENTS.

F the present flourishing State of London. S.1. No Records of the original Founders, or of the most antient State of this City. S. 2. That Defect only to be supply'd by means of Remains of antient Works and Monuments. S.3. The Improvements of the City since the Fire in 1666. S. 4. Sir Chr. Wren's Observations of the Antiquities of of London. S. 5. Mr. Coniers's Collections and Observations. S. 6. Antiquities lately discovered near Bishops-Gate. S. 7. Particularly an antient tesselated Pavement. S. 8. As also Sepulchral Urns. S. 9. And several other Things. S. 10. An Human Skull and Bones digg'd up in the same Place. S. 11. The Fabrick of the antient Roman Wall about London. S. 12. That Wall much ruin'd and demolish'd. S. 13. The frequent Vicissitudes of England antiently: and the Difficulties under which it laboured. S. 14. The Insults and Dangers to which the City was formerly expos'd. S. 15. The Advantage of the present British Constitution and Government. S. 16. And the great Security of the City in our Times. S. 17. Of the antient Roman Bricks: and occasionally of the Standard

## The CONTENTS.

of the Roman Foot. S. 18. The Fabrick of the additional Work built upon the Ruins of the old Wall. S. 19. The Fabrick of the upper Wall, rais'd upon the additional Work. S. 20. London not built by the antient Britains. S. 21. Of the Druids: and the State of Science here in their Times. S. 22. The Error of those who take the Roman for British Bricks. S. 23. Of the Towns, the Houses, and the Temples of the Britains. S. 24. The Romans, and other Nations, as Savage, of old. and as much Strangers to Arts, as the Britains. S. 25. Of the gradual Enlargement of the City antiently, and the Progress of it to the East. S. 26. A Method to discover the Antient Bounds and Extent of the City, by attending to the Places where Sepulchral Urns are digg'd up. S. 27. The Romans were wont to burn their Dead. S. 28. That Custom fell into Disuse as the Christian Religion prevailed. §. 29. Christianity very antient in Britain. §. 30. Of the Preservation of the Bones, of Persons buried, for so many Ages. S. 31. The means of discovering the Situation of the several Temples antiently in London. S. 32. A Temple of Diana formerly near the Place where now St. Paul's-Church is. S. 33.

them, not only more convenient

## A LETTER to

Sr. CHRISTOPHER WREN, Knt.

Occasion'd by some Antiquities lately discovered near Bishops-Gate London.

SIR,

Mave, with great Pleasure, Of the more than once, discours'd flourishing with you concerning the State of Condition of this City. As

it's Situation is the most happy, and commodious, of any in the World besides; so 'tis, without Dispute, the largest, the most extensive, and populous, as well as the most stately and magnificent. Of that Magnificence, Sir, you have been the chief Contriver, and the Director of more truly noble and regular Buildings than perhaps any one Man from the Creation to this Day. They who view and admire it's present Beauty and Grandeur; who see so many thoufand Houses, of even private Citizens, built in fuch Manner as to render them, them, not only more convenient, better fitted for Use, and for serving all the Ends and Offices of Life and Habitation, but even superior in Defign, and Architecture, to the Palaces of Princes elsewhere, will be forward to enquire into it's primitive State, and by what Steps and Degrees it arriv'd to so great Height and Glory.

S. 2. 'Tis with some Diffatisfaction

ancient

No Re- that I must at present take Notice that of there are no Records of it's Original, the Original and that we are left to mere Conjeers, or of cture to determine who were the the most Projectors and Builders of it. of Writer of the first Rank \*, -hath, in this City. his usual Manner, with great Appearance of Reason, given the Romans here the Honour of Founding of it. They were indeed a People of vaft Penetration, and very diffinguished Sense: and none likely sooner to find out the Advantage of the Place and Situation in all Respects. This is certain, Tacitus is the oldest Author in whom we find mention + made of But it must have been London. built some Time before; since 'twas then become so very considerable for the great number of Merchants, and plen-

Bp. Stillingfleets's Disc. of the true Antiq. of London, (in the second Part of his Ecclesiast. Cases) p. 472. † Annalium L. XIV. c. 33. Londinium copia negotiatorum & commestuum maxime celebre.

plenty of valuable Commodities. After him, Ammianus Marcellinus speaks \* of it; the' as of a Town that was antient, and call'd formerly Lundinium, but in his Days Augusta. From that Time downwards we have little Account of it. Indeed after the Romans had recall'd their Forces, and were gone, so frequent were the Revolutions, and fo unfettled the State of this Nation, that fcarcely any Encouragement was given to Science, or to History in particular. That 'tis the less to be wondred there is fcarcely any Thing extant relating to the State of this City; even to the Time that the accurate and industrious Mr. Stow began his Survey London

which may be retriev'd something feet only to be superlating to it's more early State, ply'd by it's Site, it's Bounds, and other Cirmeans of cumstances; I mean by the Remains of antient works that have been different works and covered in Digging for laying the Monuments.

fince the late great Fire.

S. 4. That Fire was so very furi- The Imous, and the Devastation, made, so provenear universal, that any, but the ments of the City

B 2 great since the Fire in

<sup>\*</sup> Rer. gest. L.XXVII. c. 8, Lundinium vetus op. 1656. pidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavic.

great Spirit of the English would have flag'd and sunk under so dismal a Calamity, and despair'd of ever raising a New City out of such a Heap of Ashes and Ruins. But here, quite contrary, all Hands set forthwith about that great Work: all Minds join'd in a

Surge, precor, veneranda parens, &

certa secundis

Fide Deis, humilèmque metum depone

senect &

Urbs aquava polo. \* and the World, looking on, stood amaz'd to fee, in fo short a Time, fuch a number of Noble Piles finished, and a City built, not only furpassing the former, but all others upon Earth. So that that Fire, however difastrous it might be to the then Inhabitants, has prov'd infinitely beneficial to their Posterity; conducing vaftly to the Improvement and Increase, as well of the Riches and Opulency, as of the Splendor of this City. Then, which I and every Body must observe with great Satisfaction, by means of the Inlargements of the Streets; of the great Plenty of good Water, convey'd to all Parts; of the common Sewers, and other like Con-

<sup>\*</sup> Claudian. de bello Get. v. 25.

Contrivances, fuch Provision is made for a free Access and Passage of the Air, for Sweetness, for Cleanness, and for Salubrity, that it is not only the finest, but the most healthy City in the World. Infomuch that, for the Plague, and other dangerous Distempers, with which it was formerly fo frequently annoy'd, and by which fo great a Number of the Inhabitants were fo cruelly taken off but the very Year before the Fire, an Experience of above fourty Years fince hath shewn it so wholly freed, that 'tis very probable 'tis now no longer obnoxious, nor never again likely to be infested by those so fatal and pernicious Maladies.

Workmanship, that were discover'd Wren's upon Occasion of rebuilding the City, tions of no Man had greater opportunity of the Antimaking Remarks upon them than you: quities of London.

Sir, has any Man ever done it to better Purpose. And as you have long promised me an Account of those Observations, so I shall ever insist upon it, and not cease to challenge it, as a Debt your Generosity has made due to me, till you acquit your self of the Obligation.

Mr. Coni- S. 6. I have now in my Custody a ers's Col- considerable Number and Variety of and Ob-Roman Antiquities that have been servations. digg'd up in and about this City. Several of them were collected by Mr. Coniers, who was living at that time, and very indefatigable in his Inquiries. 'Tis great Pity he had not Encouragement to fet forth some relation of them. But he having only the Returns of his Profession to depend upon, and there being at that time fo very few that were forward to contribute any Thing to the Support of fuch Studies, however curious and useful, Posterity has been depriv'd of the Benefit of his. All that I am able to retrieve from the Remains of his Collection that I purchased, or the many other Things that I have fince procur'd, shall be most freely imparted, either to Mr. Strype, (to whose Diligence the learned World stands greatly indebted, and who is now actually engag'd in fetting forth a new Edition of Stow's Survey of London, with Enlargements) or to any other Person, who has Leifure and Capacity to turn them to the Pleasure and Advantage of the Publick, so soon as, Sir, you shall please to communicate your ObObservations; which will be of great Use, and ought by no means to be any longer withheld and suppres'd.

S. 7. Mean while give me leave, Sir, to fend you a few Reflections Antiquiupon some Things of this kind now discovered larely brought to Light in the Neigh-near Bibourhood of this College. For the shops-gate. particulars we are indebted to the Curiofity of Mr. Joseph Miller; who living just by the Place, visited it daily, and took Notice of all that occurr'd. He is a Person, as of great Application, fo of no less Candour, and Exactness; that his Accounts may be fecurely rely'd on.

S. 8. In April last, upon the Particu-Pulling down fome old Houses ad-larly ancient joining to Bishop's-Gate, in Camo- tessellated mile Street, in order to the building Pavement: there anew: and digging to make Cellars, about four Foot under Ground, was discovered a Pavement, confisting of Diced Bricks, the most red, but fome few black, and others yellow 5 all nearly of a Size, and very small, hardly any exceeding an Inch in Thickness. The Extent of the Pavement, in Length, was uncertain; it running from Bishops-Gate, for fixty Foot, quite under the Foundation of some Houses not yet pull'd down. It's Breadth was about Ten Foot;

termi-

terminating, on that side, at the Distance of three Foot and a

half from the City Wall.

pulchral Urns,

§. 9. Sinking downwards, under as also Se- the Pavement, only Rubbish occurr'd for about two Foot, and then the Workmen came to a Stratum of Clay; in which, at the Depth of two Foot more, they found feveral Urns. Some of them were become fo tender and rotten that they eafily crumbled and fell to pieces. As to those that had the Fortune better to escape the Injuries of Time, and the Strokes of the Workmen that rais'd the Earth, they were of different Forms: but all of very handsome Make and Contrivance; as indeed most of the Roman Vessels we find ever are. Which is but one of many Instances that are at this Day extant of the Art of that People; of the great Exactness of their Genius, and Happiness of their Fancy. These Urns were of various Sizes; the largest capable of holding full three Gallons, the least somewhat above a Quart. All of these had in them Ashes, Cinders of burn'd Bones.

and feve-Things.

§. 10. Along with the Urns were ral other found various other Earthen Vessels; as a Simpulum, a Patera of a very fine red Earth, and a blewish Glass Viol

of that fort that is commonly called a Lachrimatory. These were all broke by the Carelesness of the Workmen. There were likewise found several Beads. one or two Copper Rings, a Fibula of the same Metal, but much impair'd and decay'd; as also a Coin of Antoninus Pius, exhibiting, on one side, the Head of that Emperor with a radiated Crown on, and this Inscription, ANTONINUS AVG::::: IMP. XVI. On the Reverse was the Figure of a Woman, sitting. and holding in her right Hand a Patera. in her left an Hastapura. The Inscription, on this fide, was wholly obliterated and gone.

S. 11. At about the same Depth with AnHuman the Things before-mentioned, but near-Skull and er to the City-Wall, and without the Bonesdigged up in Verge of the Pavement, was digg'd up the same an Human Skull, with several Bones, that were whole, and had not pass'd the Fire, as those in the Urnshad. Mr. Stow\* makes mention of Bones found in like manner not far off this Place, and like-wise of Urns with Ashes in them: as do also Mr. Weever † after him, and

Mr. Camden ||.

C

S. 12.

<sup>\*</sup> Survey of London, p. 177. † Antient Funeral Monuments, p. 515. In Middlesex.

The Fabrick of the antient Roman Wall about London.

S. 12. The City-Wall being, upon this Occasion, to make Way for these new Buildings, broke up, and beat to pieces, from Bishops-Gate, onwards, S. E. fo far as they extend, an opportunity was given of observing the Fabrick and Composition of it. From the Foundation, which lay eight Foot below the present Surface, quite up to the Top, which was, in all, near ten Foot, 'twas compil'd alternately of Layers of broad flat Bricks, and of Rag-Stone \*. The Bricks lay in double Ranges; and each Brick being but one Inch 3 in Thickness, the whole Layer, with the Mortar interpos'd, exceeded not three Inches. The Layers of Stone were not quite two Foot thick, of our Measure. Tis probable they were intended for Two of the Roman; their Rule being somewhat shorter than ours. To this Height the Workmanship was after the Roman manner: and these were the Remains of the antient Wall, supposed to be built by Constantine the Great f. In this 'twas very observable, that the Mortar was, as ufually in the Roman Works, so very firm and hard, that the Stone itself as easily broke, and gave way, as that. 'Twas thus far, from the Foundation upwards, nine Foot in Thickness.

<sup>\*</sup> Alternis choris parietes allegantur: & medii lateres, supra coagmenta collocati, & sirmitatem & speciem faciunt utraque parte non invenustam. Vitruv. Architect. L. II. c. 3.

† Confer Camden's Britannia in Middlesex, p. 312. & Burton's Comment. on Antoninus's Itinerary, p. 165.

S. 13. And yet so vast a Bulk and The Wall Strength had not been able to fecure it much ruifrom being beat down in former Ages, demolifiand near levell'd with the Ground. This ed. rightly reflected upon, will alone be fufficient to give us an Idea of the Difference betwixt those Times, and ours: betwixt that State of Things, and the prefent.

S. 14. They best know how to set a The frejust value upon the present happy Set-quent Vitlement who are vers'd in our History, of Eng. and duly appriz'd what England fuffer- land antied of old from the Descent of the Ro-ently, and mans, and afterwards of the Saxons, and culties un-Danes: from the frequent Wars of Scot-der which land, and our own intestine Divisions during the Heptarchy, the Barons, and

the late Civil Wars.

S. 15. As London was ever fure to have The Infuls and it's Share in the common Calamity, fo Dangers better Judgment may be made how great to which that frequently was, by the Provision the City forthat was made against it. The Citizens merly exwould never have put themselves to so pos'd. vast an Expence, for Fence and Guard without, had not the Uncertainties of those Times, and the Dangers, with which they were so frequently alarmed, The Admade that requisite.

S. 16. But such now for some Time British has been the fortunate Condition of Eng- Conflituland, that she may fafely confide in the govern-

vantage of Hearts ment.

Hearts and Hands of her Subjects, and fix her whole Strength and Defence there. The Union of the formerly greatly divided Interests and Affections of the Inhabitants of the feveral Parts of this Nation, which we in our Days have had the fatisfaction to fee fuccessfully effected in the other too, and carried on even to the utmost Bounds of the Island; the Excellence of our Constitution, and of our Laws; the steady Execution of them; and the reciprocal good Understanding between the Prince and People, have rendred us effectually, as well Safe at Home, as Great and Powerful Abroad.

great Sethe City in our Times.

on and

S. 17. As the City partakes with the the City of whole Nation in this happy Security; as it needs no other, and can never possibly have any greater; fo we may now very well and safely raze our Walls, and demolish our Fortifications; they being not

really of any longer Use.

S. 18. The Broad thin Bricks, above-Of the antient Ro- mention'd, were all of Roman make: and manBricks of the very fort which we learn from and occa- Pliny,\* were in common Use among the the Stan-Romans; being in Length a Foot and dard of the balf, of their Standard, and in Breadth a Foot, Measuring some of these, very Foot. carefully,

\* Nat. Hift. Lib. XXXV. c. 14. Ali Naeov, quo utimur, longum sesquipede, latum pede, 'Tis very probable the Standard, assign'd by Vitruvius, Archited, L. II. c. 3. is the same with this; but the Passage being incorrect, I shall not alled as it.

not alledge it.

carefully, I found them 17 Inches in Length, 11 Inches in Breadth, and I Inch - Thickness of our Measure. This may afford some Light towards the fettling and adjusting the Dimensions of the Roman Foot; and shewing the Proportion that it bears to the English; a Thing of fo great Use, that one of the most accomplished and judicious Writers\* of the last Century endeavour'd to compass it with a great deal of Travel and Pains. Indeed tis very remarkable, that the Foot-Rule followed by the Makers of these Bricks was very nearly the fame with that exhibited on the Monument of Coffutius in the Colotian Gardens at Rome, which that admirable Mathematician has, with great Reafon, pitch'd upon as the true Roman Foot . Hence likewise appears what indeed was very probable without this Confirmation, that the Standard-Foot at Rome was follow'd in the Colonies, and Provinces, to the very remotest Parts of the Empire; and that too quite down even to the Time of Constantine; in case this was the Wall that was built by his Appointment.

\$.19. The old Wall having been de- The Fa-brick of molished, as has been intimated above, was the additiafterwards repair'd again, and carry'd up, onalWork built upon of the same Thickness, to eight or nine the Ruins

about the laups to Foot of the old

Mr Greaves in his Difc. of the Roman Foot. 8vo. Mr. Greaves loc. cit. p. 32.

Foot in Height. Or, if higher, there was no more of that Work now standing. All this was apparently additional, and of a Make later than the other Part underneath. That was levelled at top and brought to a Plane, in order to the raifing this new Work upon it. The Outfide, or that towards the Suburbs, was fac'd with a coarse fort of Stone; not compil'd with any great Care, or Skill, or dispos'd into a regular Method: But, on the Infide, there appeared more Marks of Workmanship and Art. At the Bottom were five Layers, compos'd of Squares of Flint, and of Free-Stone. Tho they were not so in all Parts, yet in some the Squares were near equal, about 5 Inches in Diameter, and rang'd in a Quincunx Order. Over these was a Layer of Brick, then of hew'n Free-Stone, and so alternately, Brick, and Stone, to the Top. There were of the Bricks, in all, fix Layers, each confifting only of a double Course; except that which lay above all, in which there were four Courfes of Bricks, where the Layer was entire. These Bricks were of the Shape of those now in Use, but much larger, being near 11 Inches in Length, 5 in Breadth, and somewhat above 21 in Thickness. Of the Stone there were five Layers, and each of equal Thickness, in all Parts, for it's whole Length. The highest,

and the lowest of these were somewhat above a Foot in Thickness, the three Middle Layers each five Inches: So that the whole Height of this additional Work was near nine Foot: As to the interior Parts, or the main Bulk of the Wall. 'twas made up of Pieces of Rubble-Stone; with a few Bricks, of the same fort of those used in the inner Facing of the Wall, laid uncertainly, as they happen'd to come to Hand, and not in any stated Method. There was not one of the broad thin Roman Bricks, mentioned above. in all this Part: nor was the Mortar here near fo hard as in that below. But from the Description may easily be collected, that this Part, when first made, and intire, with so various and orderly a Disposition of the Materials, Flint, Stone Bricks, could not but carry a very elegant and handsome Aspect. Whether this was done at the Expence of the Barons, in the Reign of K. John; or of the Citizens, in the Reign of K. Henry the III: or of K. Richard the II \*; or at what other Time, I cannot take upon me to ascertain from Accounts so defective and obscure, as are those which at this Day remain of this Affair.

S. 20.

The Fabrick of the upper Wall raifed upon the additional Work.

S. 20. Upon the additional Work, now describ'd, was rais'd a Wall wholly of Brick; only that, it terminating in Battlements, these are top'd with Copings of Stone. 'Tis two' Foot four Inches in Thickness, and somewhat above eight Foot in Height. The Bricks of this are of the fame Module, and Size, with those of the Part underneath. How long they had been in Use is uncertain. But there can be no doubt but this was the Wall that was built in the Year 1477, in the Reign of K. Edward the IV. Mr. Stow\*informs us that that was compiled of Bricks made of Clay got in Moor-fields: and mentions two Coats of Arms fix'd in it near Moor-gate; one of which is extant to this Day, tho' the Stone, whereon it was ingrav'd, be fomewhat worn and defac'd. Bishop's-Gate, itself, was built two Years after this Wall, in the Form it still retains . The Workmen lately imploy'd there, funk confidebly lower than the Foundations of this Gate; and by that Means learned they lay not so deep as those of the old Roman Wall by four or five Foot.

London not built by the antains.

. S. 21. Geofry of Monmouth | will have London to have been a British City, cient Bri- incompass'd with Walls, and fortified with innumerable Towers. But the World is

now

<sup>\*</sup> Sinvey p. 7, 8. + Ibid. p. 33. | Hift. Brit. L. III. c, 20.

now well agreed in Opinion how little Regard is due to that Monkish \* Writer: and they who have read the Accounts of Britain left us by Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Authors of Judgment and Credit,

will presently see his cannot be true.

S. 22. The Britains in those Days, Of the were barbarous, and wholly uncivilized to the State Except some who had Skins, and Hides of Science of Brutes cast over them ||, they went here in naked 4, and painted \* their Bodies with Times. the Figures of various Animals, after the manner of other Savage Nations. Their Diet, and Method of Life, was very mean || ||. There was little or nothing that could claim the Name of Science among them. What they had was lodg'd with the Druids, who were the Divines and Philosophers of those Times: and there are some who have entertain'd very lofty Thoughts of that Order of These Gentlemen may be allow'd Men. to indulge their Imaginations as far as they please; but if we rightly reflect upon what we find on Record concerning the Notions and Practice of the Druids, 'twill not carry our Idea's to any

<sup>\*</sup>Confer J. Balæi illustr. Britan. Script. Cent. 2. p. 194. Ed. Bas. MDLIX. + Herodian L. III. p. 83. Ed. H. Steph. Par. MDLXXXI. Pomp. Mela L. III. c. 6. || Cæsar L. V. c. 14. p. 116. Ed. Jungermanni, Franc. MDCVI. + Xiphilin E. XXI. p. 866. Ed. Han. (typis Wechel.) MDCVI. \* Cæsar L. V. p. 116. Plin. XXII. 1. Pomp. Mela L. III. c. 6. Herodian. L. III. p. 83. ut supra. |||| Strabo L. IV. p. 200. Ed. Casaub. Par. MDCXX. Diodor. Sic. L. IV. p. 301. Ed. Rhodomanni Hanov. (typis Wechel.) MDCIIII. Xiphilin. L. VI. p. 703. & L. XXI. p. 866.

great Height. They had nothing in greater Veneration than Misletoe, and the Tree upon which it grew, especially if that happened to be an Oak. Nor would they perform any Act of Religion without a Bough of this Tree; to which they seem to have paid Divine Honours;

- Robora numinis inftar \*:

They were wont to gather the Mistetoe with a mighty deal of Devotion and Ceremony. They thought it fent immediately from Heaven; and a token that the Tree whereon it grew was mark'd out and chosen by their God himself. They gave Missetoe the Name of All-Heal: ascribed to it a Power of rendring prolific any Creature that was barren: and thought it a Remedy against all sorts of Poysons; so much of the Religion of the Barbarous Nations is chiefly plac'd in Things really mean and trivial +; as Pliny, the Author of this Account, observes very pertinently, upon the Occasion. But further, the Druids taught the Doctrine of the Transmigration of the Soul | : and they were wont to offer up Men in Sacrifice 4. They cut them up alive, in order to the making their Divinations: and by the Manner of the Fall of the poor unhappy Wretch,

<sup>\*</sup> Claudian. in Conf. I. Stilichon. L. I. v. 229. † Tantagentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est. Plin. N. H. L. XVI. c. 44. || Cæsar L. VI. c. XIV. p. 155. Ed. Jungerm. ‡ Diodor. Sic. L. V. p. 308. Cæsar L. VI. c. 16. p. 156. Tacit. An. L. XIV. c. 30. Strabo L. IV. p. 198. Ed. Causanb. Pomp. Mela L. III. c. 2.

Wretch, by the Convulsion of the Parts. and Efflux of the Blood, they formed their Prefages of future Events\*. Other Methods they had likewife of Sacrificing Men; fome they killed with Arrows. others they crucified f. Nay, they were fometimes wont to frame a huge Coloffus, with Hay, Twigs, and Wood; in which having put feveral Men alive, and Brutes of all Kinds, they fet Fire to it, and made an Holocaust of them all at once | This is the main of what Antiquity hath transmitted down to us of the Theology and Philosophy of the Druids: and, by this, 'twill not be hard to frame a Judgment of their Science. as to the Stars, the World, Nature, and the Power of the Gods \* ; of which we have not the Particulars.

State of Building, among the antient of those who take Britains, we have had, of late, some, who, the Roman upon the Authority of Geofry of Monfor British mouth, and the Heat of their own Fancy, have talk'd of Remains of Temples, and other Noble Stuctures of the Druids. Whereas, in reality, the Romans, at their Descent here, sound nothing that carried the Appearance of a Building: no not one Stone upon another;

D 2 nor

<sup>\*</sup> Diodor. Sic. L. V. p. 308. Strab. L. IV. p. 198. † Strabo ib. || Cæsar L. VI. p. 156. Strabo L. IV. p. 198. \*\* Cæsar L. VI. p. 156.

nor fo much as a Brick, in all the whole Island. And the fome others may be eafily passed over, I cannot but be somewhat surprized to find a Gentleman of the great Diligence and Ingenuity of Mr. Somner \* taking the Roman Bricks, that he observed in the Walls of Canterbury, for British Bricks. But 'tis not easie, when once a Man fuffers himfelf to grow fond of a Subject, not to be over far transported, and screw Things to a Pitch much too high for those who are only indifferent Lookers on, and not touch'd with the Passion that such a Writer may himself feel.

Of the Houses, and the Temples tains.

S. 24. Xiphilin, to whom we owe a Towns, the very considerable Extract out of Dion Cassius concerning Britain, treating of the Mæatæ, or Inhabitants of the now most of the Bri Northern Counties of England, afferts that they had neither Walls nor Cities +; what passed under the Names of Cities in Britain, being, according to Strabo, no other than Groves ||. So likewise Cæfar, The Britains call it a Town when they have furrounded and fenced about their thickest Woods with a Bank and a Ditch |||. As to their Houses, a Tree + ferv'd some for that Purpose: others run up Hutts \*\*

<sup>\*</sup> Antiq. of Canterb. p. 4. † Μήτε τέχη, μήτε πόλεις. Xiph. L. XXI. p. 866. || Πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν ἐσὶν οἱ Αρυμοί. Strabo L. IV. p. 200. M Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque sossa munierunt. De Bello Gall. L. V. c. 21. p. 120. + Hav j devdego oinia, Xiphilin L. VI. p. 703. \*\* Καλυδοποιούνται, Strabo L. IV. p. 200.

in the Woods for their own Use; and and Hovels for their Cattle \*; both very flight, and not of any long Continuance, ferving only for some small Shelter to them during the Stressof Weather, in the Depthof Winter. Diodorus Siculus † is fomewhat more particular as to their Structure, informing us that they were only flight Cabins, compos'd chiefly of Reeds, or Sticks. Cæfar observes that the Houses of the Britains were pretty like those of the Gauls | which he afterwards acquaints us were small Cottages. thatch'd with Straw | . As to the Walls of them we learn from Strabo they were made of Stakes and Watlings + after the Manner of Hurdles. Then for the Temples of the Druids, they were of a Piece with the rest: and no other than Groves and Woods \*, which the Romans cut down, because the Druids. had dedicated them to fo cruel Superstitions, as the Oblation of human Blood, and Sacrificing of Men. Which is likewife intimated by Lucan \*; Omnisq; humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos:

<sup>\*</sup> Βοσκήμα]α --- 8 πεὸς πολύν χεόνον. ibid.
† Τὰς οἰκήσεις εὐτελείς εχεσιν εκ τῶν κελαμῶν, ή
ξόλαν κα]ὰ τὸ πλείς ον συγκειμένας. L. V. p. 301.

[] Ædificia fere Gallicis confimilia. De Bello Gall. L. V.
c- 12. p. 115. []] Cafas, quæ, more Gallico, stramentis
erant tectæ. Ibid. c. 43. p. 133. †† Εκ σανίδων κὶ γέρρων.
Strabo L. IV. p. 197. \*\* Lucos ac nemora confecrant. Tacit. de Mor. Ger. c. 9. Excinque luci, sævis superstitionibus
facri. Nam cruore, &c. Annal, L. XIV. c. 31. \*† Pharsal,
L. III, v. 405.

and by Claudian \*.

-Lucosque vetustà

Relligione truces .-Pliny tells us that the Druids made choice of Groves of Oaks; their Sacrifices, and their Religious Feasts, being wont to be folemnized under that Tree. The Britains, under the Command of that brave and illustrious Heroine, Bunduica |, after they had taken and plundered two Cities of the Romans, offered their Sacrifices, and kept their Festivals in a Grove dedicated to Andate, the Goddess of Victory . Indeed Groves were wont to ferve the Druids, not only for their Temples, but for their Dwellings,

-Nemora alta remotis

Incolitis lucis ++ and in them, or in some Cave, they were wont to deliver out their Precepts and Doctrines \*..

§.25. The truth is the Britains had then amongst them very little that carried any other Na. Appearance of Art | \*; except a few tions, as flight Things that probably they had eiold, and as ther got of the Gauls, and Phœnicians with whom they had Commerce +\*: or else made

The Romans, and Savage, of much Strangers to Arts as the Britains.

In Stilichon. L. I. v. 288. + Druidæ-roborum eligunt lucos; -- Sacrificiis epulifque rite fub arbore præparatis, &c. Nat. Hift. L. XVI. c. 44. | Boudicea. Taeit. Annal. L. XIV. c. 31. | Θυονθές τε άμα, κ) εςιωμενοι--εν τω τ Ανθιάτης -- άλσα. Xiphilin. L. VI. p. 704. + Lucan. L. I. v. 454. \* Docent --- in specu, aut in abditis saltibus Pomp. Mela L. III. c. 2. | Xiphil. L. VI. p. 702, 703. + Diador. Sic. L. V. p. 299, 300. Cæsar L. V. c. 12, &c. & L. VI. c. 13. Strabo L. III. p. 175. Conf. Bochart. Part II, L. I. c. 39.

made themselves, in Imitation of them; as afterwards of the Romans, when they were once fettled here. Whether their Esseda were like those of the Gauls\*. or the Chariots us'd in War by the Phœnicians to or of what Form they were, we have no Account. But 'tis most certain their Way of Fighting with them was very wild and extravagant | Nor will it be thought strange that our Progenitors should be, in those early Times, thus rude, and uncivilized, when 'tis known that feveral other great Nations were likewife fo till lately: nay, that all Mankind quite round the Globe were once fo, I mean at their first Original, in the Ages that enfued next after the Deluge. This the Histories and Accounts of the Affyrians, the Egyptians, the Chineses, and all others, agree in. Even the Grecians, that became afterwards the most polite and refin'd People upon Earth, were once barbarous it. They made as little scruple as the Britains of flaying Men: and facrificing them to the Deities which they worshipped \*. They lived upon Leaves and Herbs, or upon Acorns, till Ceres and Triptolemus taught them to Plow, and to Sow Corn. They had

<sup>\*</sup> Strabo L. IV. p. 200. + Jos. XVII. 16. 1 Sam. XIII. 5.

[] V. Cæsar. L. IV. c. 24. p. 99. ++ - Τὸ παλαιὸν Ελληνικὸν ὁμοιότερπα τῶ νῦν βαςθαεικῶ διαθώμενον.

Thucyd. L. I. c. 6, \*\* Porphyr. de Abst. L, II.

had no other Cloathing than only the Skins of Beafts. Some of them dwelt in Caves, others in mean Hutts \*: Others run wild in the Woods, like fo many Brutes, till Pelasgus Orpheus, Amphion, and some other great Men, found out Ways to tame, deterr, and reclaim them from their Rapine and Ferity. Sylvestres homines facer, interpresq; Deorum, Cadibus, & villu fado, deterruit Orpheus; Didus ob hoc lenire tigres, rapidosq; leones t. Nay the Romans themselves were, not many Ages before their Descent upon this Island, wholly Strangers to all the

politer Arts.

Panico Bello secundo Musa pinnatogradu Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feramy: Julius Cæsar found the Natives of Britain, at his Landing, not more rude than Evander found those of Italy. had no Houses: nor better Habitations than in hollow Trees, or in Caves +. They offered up Men in Sacrifice \*\*. were amongst them very little shew of Humanity, of Manners, or any useful Accomplishment. They were ignorant of Tillage; living only upon Vegetables, or what they caught in Hunting.

Hac

<sup>\*</sup> V. Plin. L. VII. c. 56. Pausan. L. VIII. & alios. + Hor. de Arte Poet. v. 391. || Poreius Licinius ap. A. Gell. L. XVII. c. 21. †† Ante factas domos, aut in cavis arboribus, aut in speluncis manebant. Serv. in Eneid. VIII. 315. \*‡. Dionys. Halic. L. I. Xiphilin. L. VI. p. 704. Plin. L. XXX. c. 1. Porph. II. περὶ ἀποχῆς. Macrob. Sat. L. I. Serv. in Æneid. L. II. v. 116.

Hac nemora indigenæ Fauni Nymphaque tenebant.

Gensque virûm truncis, & duro robore nata: Queis neque mos, neque cultus erat: nec

jungere tauros,

Aut componere opes norant, aut parcereparto: Sed rami, atque asper victu venatus alebat\*. Indeed they were no other than so many wild Men, without Laws, and without Government †; which cannot by any Means be said of the Britains. Nor had the Romans really made any considerable Progress in Civility, in Arts or Science, till after they had over-tun Greece, and were cultivated and taught by that great and wise People.

Gracia capta, ferum victorem cepit, & artes

Intulit agresti Latio |.

And as the Greeks were the greatest Masters in the World, so the Romans soon shewed they were not less apt Proficients and Scholars. Nor will the Britains at

this Day be judged inferior to either.

S. 26. Whether the old Wall, describ'd gradual above, was the first with which London inlarge-was environed, 'tis not easie to determin, ment of the City for want of Records and Memorials. Mr. and the Burton of fancies Suetonius Paullinus, and the Progress of to the Nero, found it Wall'd about at that East.

E Time.

<sup>\*</sup> Eneid. L. VIII. v. 384. & seqq. Conf. Dionys. Halic. L. I. + Genus Hominum agreste, fine legibus, fine imperio. Sallust. Bell. Catil. p. 4. Ed. Plantin. MDCXII. || Hor. Epist. L. II. ep. 1. v. 156. || Comment. on Antoninus his Itinerary, p. 161.

Time. Though the Account of that Expedition which he follows, I mean that of Tacitus \*, is so far from giving any Countenance to his Conjecture, that it imports that London was then a Place of so little Strength that the Roman General quitted it, as not capable of being held out or defended. Be that as it will, this is certain, the Wall now in being was run up wide, and at some Distance from the former and antient Bounds of the City. If there was any Wall before, it must have been nearer this Way: and more to the West. Because the Urns, I have here given an Account of †, were found in the Inside of this Wall; whereas it was the standing Custom of the Romans, founded upon a Law of the XII. Tables ||, to bury only without the City. This affords us a Proof that London did not formerly extend fofar East: and that this Wall must have been built fince those Urns were reposited there; which we may conjecture was about the Time of Antoninus, from the Coin of that A Method Emperor | buried amongst them.

the discover the perfor an object them.

So 27. As from these Urns here, so Bounds from those of late Years brought to Light tent of the in great Numbers on the other sides of City, by the Town, some Advances may be made to the Platowards ascertaining the old Boundaries ces where

Sepulchral Annal. L.XIV. c. 33. + Sect. 9. || Par. I. De Jure Sacro. Urns are Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito. || Conf. digg'd up. Sect. 10. supra,

of it there: and by a careful collation of all, towards adjusting the Form, and fettling the Extent, of the whole; whenever One, who has Leifure, and due Information, shall engage in the Undertaking.

S. 28. Though the Romans committed mans were not the Body of Numa deceas'd to the Fire, wont to he himself having expressly forbidden it, as burn their Dead. there was a Tradition \*, quite down to the Time of Plutarch, the Writer of the Life of that Prince: and there were likewife a few others exempted to yet 'twas the common Custom, among them, to burn their Dead. But this fell into Difuse as Christianity prevailed in the Empire: and the Professors of it brought the Manner of Burial, us'd by the Jews, and other Oriental Nations, again into Praclice. Thus they rendred back the Body to the Earth from whence 'twas originally derived ||: and restored anew the antient and better Custom of Interment | detesting the Funeral Piles of the Pagans, and condemning the Way of Sepulture by Fire ++.

S. 29. But twill not be so easy certain- That Culy to determin; either at what Time the into Difuse Christians first began to bury: or when as the they quitted the Sepulchreta of the Hea- Religion

thens, prevailed.

Thei μεν δ'κ εθοσαν τ νεκεόν, αὐτε κωλύσαν Φ, ώς λέγε αι. Plut. in Numa. p. 74. Conf. Ciceron. de Legib. L. II, + Plin. N. H. L. VII. c. 54. Cicero de Legib. L. II. || Reddamus id terræ, unde ortum est. Lactant. de vero cultu L. VI. p. 545. Ed. Oxon. || Veterem & meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus. Minut. Fel. p. 327. + Exsecrantur rogos, & damnant ignium sepulturas. Id. p. 97.

thens, pite'hd upon new ones, and interr'd their Dead apart. As 'tis beyond controversy that several of them kept on in the old Way, and continued, for some time, to burn; those who chose rather to bury, did it in common with their Pagan Neighbours: and reposited their Dead in the same Place\*. Of this, without going further, we have Proof from the Bones found here lying along with the Urns †. 'Tis very likely that for some time, at first, the Pagans and Christians liv'd quietly and amicably together: and the latter burn'd or bury'd their Deceas'd, each according to his own fancy. But as Conversions were daily made, and the Number of Profelytes became confiderable, the Pagans began to take alarm, and think their Paternal Religion in Danger. This gave Rife to Controversies and Difputes: and, as these grew hot, Feuds and Animosities arose, in course. Thereupon the Parties began to distinguish themselves: and each recede from other as far as poffible. The Christians, from the very Beginning, were not content only to withdraw from the Pagan Temples and Sacrifices, but declin'd joining in the Publick Processions, the Lustrations, and other Solemnities: and denied paying the usual Salutations to the Hermæ and Sta-

tues,

<sup>\*</sup> V. Differt, fur le Culte des Saints inconnus, par P. Mabillon. p. 14. & seqq. + Conf. Sect. 11, supra,

tues\*, that stood abroad in the Streets. and High-ways +; fo far from it, that they reproach'd and expos'd those who did ||. Nay afterwards, that they might separate and keep to as great Distance as possible, they refused so much as to eat or drink with them ||| : or to comply with fome of even the most innocent and indifferent of the common Customs: in particular that of the ordinary Sepulture. As to the Pagans, they were far from being fo shy and scrupulous of their Part: but were forward enough to fall into these Practices of the Christians that they liked, and thought preferable to their own. This was the Case of their Sepulture; which therefore they did not flick readily to exchange for the Christian: and this had obtained univerfally in the time of Macrobius +. How much fooner, is not easy to determin, for want of Records, and Testimonies; this being the oldest extant. But learned Men conjecture that burning fell into general Disuse towards the latter End of the Times of the Antonines \*. To which conjecture the Coin of Antoninus Pius, found in this Burying-

<sup>\*</sup> Dii Semitales d. † V. Virgilii Catal. de Sabino : & Not. Jos. Scalig. in loc. || Min. Felix in Octavio. || Vid. Auctorem Recognitionum Clementinarum. L. II. c. 70. & seqq. † Urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro seculo nullus int. Saturnal. L. VII. c. 7. \* Quando cadavera cremari desierint — incertum est. Quanquam viri docti id sub extrema Antoninorum tempora factum conjiciant; quibus non repugnaverim. Oct. Ferrarii Dissert, de veterum lucernis sepulchralib. p.31.

rying-place \* may perhaps be thought to give some Countenance. Without ever entring into that, the finding these Bones, not only within the old City-Wall +, but reposited along with the Urns ||, carries the Date of their Sepulture up very high.

Christia-Bity very Britain.

S. 30. A late Writer, to whose Labours antient in Religion, and indeed good Letters, stand deeply indebted, has produced feveral very furprizing Proofs that Christianity obtain'd very early here in Britain || To this these Observations give some further Attestation: and also shew that the Christians were here as careful to distinguish themselves from the Pagans, as at Rome, in Italy, and elsewhere.

tion of the Persons bury'd, for fo many Ages.

Of the S. 31. It will not be thought strange preserva- that these Bones should be preserved, and Bones, of remain intire fo long, when 'tis confidered that they were found in a Clay fo stiff and close that they might have lain fafe there for many Ages more, had they not been thus difturb'd. From the Shells and other Marine Bodies, that are Remains of the Deluge ++, and found at this Day firm and found in that fort of Clay, as well as other Terrestrial Matter, we have Proof sufficient how far it is capable of preserving such Bodies. Of the two, 'tis indeed much the more furprizing that

<sup>\*</sup> Conf. Sect. 10. supra. +. V. Sect. 11. supra. | V. Sect. 9. supra. | Bp. Stillingsleet Orig. Britan. c. I. + V. Nat. Hift, of the Earth. Part 2.

that the Cinders or Burnt-Bones should be so little altered as we now find them. For these being injur'd and prey'd upon by the Fire, were so much the more tender, and liable to perish: and since these are so safely transmitted down to our Times, there cannot well be any Difficul-

ty as to the other.

S. 32. As from the Urns, and Places of Themeans Sepulture, the Walls, and Bounds of the of discovering the City may be traced; so from the Places Situation where Bateræ, Simpula, Præfericula, and of the several other Vessels of Sacrifice, have been Temples turn'd forth of the Earth and Rubbish, antiently Judgment may be pass'd of the Site of the Temples of this City: and, by the Figures, and Insignia, exhibited upon some of those Vessels, of the Deities that they were used in the Worship of, and those Temples dedicated unto.

\$\scrip\$. 33. Of this we have a Sample in the A Temvarious Things digg'dup near St. Pauls-ana for-Church. In particular, as well the merly Tusks of Boars, Horns of Oxen, and of Place Stags: as the Representations of Deer, wherenow and even of Diana herself, upon the Sa-St. Paul's-crificing Vessels; of all which there are Instances in my Collection. Nay I have likewise a small Image of that Goddess that was found not far off. These plainly enough import that there was thereabouts antiently a Temple of Diana; as has been indeed the common Tra-

dition

dition \* and Opinion. Nor affuredly would the very learned Writer †, who has lately call'd this in Question, ever have done that, had he known of these Things: and that there was yet remaining such Evidence there of the Sacrifice of Stags; which he allows to be the proper Sacrifice to Diana ||.

But, Sir, I have, before I was well a-ware, much exceeded the Bounds that I, at first, proposed to myself: and I blush when I reslect how much of that Time I have thus taken up with Trisses, that you, of all Men living, know how to employ so much better. For which Reason I shall not detain you longer than while I assure you that I am, with the utmost Regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant.

Gresham College 23. June 1707.

J. Woodward.

<sup>\*</sup> Burton's Com. on Antonin. p. 169. † Bp. Stillingsleet, Antiq. London. p. 471. & 542. Hibid. p. 546.



